





**CHINESE REPOSITORY.**

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VOL. VIII.—JUNE, 1839.—No. 2.

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ART. I. *Crisis in the opium traffic; continuation of the narrative, with official papers, &c. (Continued from page 37.)*

MOST untowardly, on the 24th of May, while celebrating the anniversary of queen Victoria's birthday, shot were fired from one of the British ships lying off Macao. The Chinese war-junk, at which they were aimed, immediately moved from her anchorage, without returning the fire. Rumors of the affair produced no small degree of concern and excitement among foreigners. For a while, it was not known whether any life had been lost or not; and as captain Elliot and the party accompanying him from Canton, were still within the Bogue, painful apprehensions were entertained for their safety. Fortunately no life was lost, or serious injury sustained, on board the junk; nor did the party, with the chief superintendent, meet with any interruption on their way down to Macao. We understand that a correspondence on the subject, with the Chinese authorities, ensued; but the particulars of it have not come to our knowledge.

It should be stated here also, that H. B. M. sloop Larne, captain Blake, the only British ship of war in the Chinese waters, went to sea May 29th, and was followed the next day by the clipper Ariel, captain Warden, on her Britannic majesty's service, destined to the Red Sea, bearing dispatches for the home government.

The number of foreigners now in Canton, (June 1st,) does not, we believe exceed thirty, and will probably be reduced to fifteen or twenty in the course of a few days. The pecuniary losses occasioned, first, by the detention of foreigners, and now by their departure from

the provincial city, and the detention of ships outside, are running up to a very large amount. It is difficult for us to say whether they will fall heaviest on the native, or on the foreign, merchants. Some of the members of the *cohong* must suffer severely, perhaps will fail; nor would it be matter of surprise or regret, should that honorable body be broken up before the present crisis is fairly passed.

The following translation is taken from the *Canton Press*; and we give it insertion here as a specimen of the passports granted to foreigners on leaving *Canton* for *Macao*, in Chinese boats by the inside passage. The list of articles, on which a duty is payable by law, will be seen to comprise only such as are of Chinese manufacture, or origin. But it is well known that, on the present occasion, many illegal duties have been levied and paid. In some instances, boats could not be obtained except on condition that the duties should be paid as levied by the linguist. This, the editor of the *Press* informs us, was done in his own case. The document consists of several distinct parts, which are numbered by the letters of the alphabet.

## No. 45.

*Passport to Macao.*

(A) Petition from the *hong* merchants to the *hoppo*, applying for the pass for *Macao*. The *hong* merchants *Woo Shaouyung*, *Loo Kekwang*, *Pwan Shaoukwang*, and *Pwan Wantaou*, respectfully petition. Whereas it is our duty to petition for the favor of obtaining passes for *Macao*, as usual in such cases; it now appears that the barbarian merchant A., having clearly set forth that on a former year he came to this port to trade, now wishes to go and reside at *Macao*, and not daring to resort to illegal or irregular proceedings, has begged us to entreat the favor of an official passport being granted, duly made out, which he can submit for inspection at the various custom-house stations on the route;—such being the barbarian's views, we beg that official permission may be granted him to proceed.

Memorandum. The barbarian merchant A., for the protection of his person carries with him one gun and one sword, together with baggage and cooking utensils. *Taoukwang*, 19th year, 4th month, 15th day.

L. S. (*Signed*) *Howqua*, *Mowqua*, *Ponkequa*, *Mingqua*.

(B) The *hoppo's* reply. It is granted that he go to *Macao*, and as customary, this must be exhibited at the various custom-houses on the route, and delivered to the custom-house at *Macao* on arrival.

L. S. [of the *hoppo*.] To be countersigned on passing the *West fort*.

L. S. To be countersigned on passing *Tszenei*.

(c) Pass to be countersigned on the route. Yu, by the imperial pleasure, superintendent of customs for the ports of Kwangtung, &c., &c. Whereas it has been established, that for safety and regularity in granting passes, proof of the business be obtained; it is evidently consistent that barbarians of all nations, in passing to and from the capital and Macao, should be furnished with passports to be shown at the various custom-houses on the route, the time of arriving at which should be noted, and they allowed to proceed; by this no difficulty or delay will occur; neither will foreigners be allowed to loiter or wander about, which doings would give rise to disturbances. When this pass reaches Macao, it must be delivered to the custom-houses there, to be returned to this office to be canceled. It is highly necessary that those through whose hands this passes attend to these injunctions.

Memorandum. One boat, containing one barbarian, A., who in the 4th month, 16th day, leaves the capital.

L. S. On the 16th day at noon, arrived at, and left the head custom-house.

L. S. On the 16th day in the evening, arrived at, and left the West fort.

L. S. On the 17th day at 1 a. m., arrived at, and left Tszenei.

L. S. On the 17th day at daylight, arrived at Heängshan; 18th day at daylight, left Heängshan.

L. S. On the 18th day in the evening, arrived at Macao.

Taoukwang, 19th year, 4th month, 16th day. (Date of taking out the pass written on it at Canton.)

(d) An official pass, registered number 2. Yu, by imperial appointment, superintendent of customs for the ports of Kwangtung, &c., &c. Whereas, by the pleasure of the emperor, he controls the maritime affairs, now grants the merchant A., by means of the boat belonging to Yin Paouchang, liberty to proceed with fine tea, &c., from this port to Macao for sale, the duties having been paid; besides granting this pass, he herein also registers the articles on which duties have been paid, viz.:

63 catties fine tea in 5 boxes.

612 catties sundry woodware, in 8 boxes.

4 large silver spoons, and 8 small.

30 pairs of shoes in one box.

270 catties ironware in three boxes.

45 catties oil in two jars.

18 catties hams in one package

- 10 catties pictures.
- 1 large wooden table.
- 27 catties white sugar in one package.
- 36 catties preserves in one box.
- 27 catties salt fish in one package.
- 3 small oil paintings.

On these a duty of 2 taels, 6 mace, 1 candareen.

Taoukwang, 19th year, 4th month, 14th day.

The barbarian merchant A., going to Macao, takes the following stores, &c., viz.:

- 524 bottles of foreign wine.
- 30 foreign glass cups and bottles.
- 30 foreign knives and forks.
- 2 boxes shaving implements.
- 1 trunk woollen clothing.
- 250 catties foreign clothing.
- 30 catties candles.
- 30 bottles fragrant water.
- 10 cakes foreign fragrant soap.
- 70 catties eatables.
- 1 glass mirror.
- 270 catties foreign white paper
- 1 large glass lamp.
- 200 catties lead.
- 1 small foreign gun.
- 1 foreign sword.
- 1 hat.
- 1 spy-glass.
- 5 pictures with glass fronts.
- 40 catties rolled tobacco leaves (segars).
- 20 catties foreign crockery.
- 1 foreign white blanket.
- 10 catties foreign copper ware.

(E) An extra pass granted by the officers appointed by the imperial commissioner Lin, on account of the opium matter now in hand, and stationed at the jetty in front of the factories, to take cognizance of all foreigners arriving at and leaving Canton.

Le, expectant sub-prefect, delegated especially by the imperial commissioner, and the Kwangchow heë. It having become known to us, that the fastboat owned by Chang, having on board the barbarian A., on this 16th day of the 4th month, leaves the capital for

Macao, and as no delay must take place, and as the boat does not contain either of those 16 proscribed [foreigners] who are detained in Canton, all custom-houses on the route will allow her to pass, by this guaranty.

No. 196. L. S. of the Kwangchow heë.

Taoukwang, 19th year, 4th month, 16th day. To be returned.

From the following edict it appears that captain Elliot has applied to the commissioner, asking permission for British merchants to conduct their commercial business at Macao

No. 46.

*Injunctions to enter the port.*

Yu, hoppo of Canton, &c., &c., proclaims to the hong merchants for their full information. On the 24th day of the 4th month of the 19th year of Taoukwang (June 5th, 1839), I received a joint communication from their excellencies, the high commissioner and the governor, to the following effect: "It appears that the English superintendent, Elliot has petitioned us, saying, 'that the foreign ships fully laden have left Whampoa, and will immediately get under weigh to return to their country, &c., &c.'

"Now this coming before us, the high commissioner and governor, we at that time gave an answer, to say: that as regards the foreign ships laden with full cargoes having left the port of Whampoa to return immediately to their countries, we find this to be perfectly true; and those having requested their port-clearances to leave the one after the other, they may all be urged to get under weigh as speedily as possible. But in reference to those merchant vessels which during this year have arrived at Canton, if they are indeed willing to trade, then they ought immediately to proceed to Whampoa, and wait till they be examined in conformity with the regulations; if they are not willing to trade, then they ought to return home as speedily as possible, there is no use in their remaining loitering about here. As to what he (Elliot) says, that the ships must wait till they can get a reply from the sovereign of their country, this is clearly an evasive excuse. Think for a little: every one of these ships has got a clearance from their respective countries, permitting them to come to the Inner Land to trade, and therefore it is that they come hither with full cargoes: what reason can there be, on their first arrival to wait for edicts in reply [from the sovereign of their country]? The said superintendent thinks, that because his country is distant and difficult of access, that he may borrow these excuses to loiter and

delay. Who does not know that all these foreign merchants bring large capital along with them; and who is there that likes to involve himself in loss, or to ruin his own business? Moreover, the laws which guard our seacoast are exceedingly strict and severe; if these ships be not merchantmen, how can we permit them to roam and loiter about at their ease? In reference to what he begs about being permitted to load cargo at Macao, this is still more at variance with the established regulations, and is still more difficult to be permitted. He ought instantly to urge the empty opium ships to return to their country; let each follow after a lawful trade, for we will not permit the scheming after anything beyond this. The said superintendent ought from first to last to secure the foreign merchants from loss, and think anxiously how they may enjoy their blithesome profits; he should keep the old laws, and discharge his duties with propriety and in unison; let him not set about producing thorns and briars, which will choke up business and prick himself. Besides giving instructions to Lew, the acting *tungche* of Fühshan, and T'seäng, the acting *keunmin foo* of Macao, that they lay these commands upon the said superintendent, Elliot; we hereby see it fit also to advise your excellency, the *hoppo*, that you duly examine and put it in force, &c., &c."

Now this coming before me, the *hoppo*, I accordingly issue this edict that the same be duly known; and when my edict reaches the said *hong* merchants, let them forthwith, in conformity with the spirit of the accompanying communication, lay the commands upon the superintendent Elliot, that he obey accordingly. Besides urging all the vessels, proceeding from Whampoa with full cargoes, to return home forthwith, as regards the merchantmen which have arrived this year at Canton with cargoes, if they really wish to trade, let them proceed to Whampoa, and conformably to the regulations, let them wait till they are examined; if they do not trade, then let them not loiter about here; for there are only two ways, either to enter the port, or begone; there is no medium course to be followed. Seeing that he has previously delivered up the opium in the store-ships, this is proof enough that he is respectful and submissive; the said Elliot need not be ashamed to be called a superintendent of trade. But now with these present foreign merchant ships, he has turned to give birth to other kinds of expectation: it is, indeed, as their excellencies, the high commissioner and governor, say in their communication; the said superintendent ought from first to last to secure and protect the foreign merchant, and think how he may enjoy his blithesome profits; to keep the old regulations, and perform his duties in unison



and with propriety: let him not himself give birth to thorns and briars. Tremble at and think of this! A special edict.

Taoukwang, 19th year, 4th month, 28th day. June 9th, 1839.

The present position and prospects of British trade in China are pretty fairly indicated by the following minutes of two meetings of British merchants, which include a communication from captain Elliot.

No. 47.

(A) Minutes of a general meeting of British merchants held at Macao, June 12th, 1839, at the office of Messrs. Dent & Co. On the motion of Mr. A. Jardine, seconded by Mr. W. Dent, Mr. G. T. Braine was called to the chair.

Moved by Mr. W. Dent, seconded by Mr. Constable, and

1. *Resolved*, That this meeting sees with regret that there are parties preparing to send British ships and property to Canton, in opposition to the strict injunctions of her majesty's chief superintendent.

That with the view of ascertaining the position of British ships and property, a requisition be made to her majesty's chief superintendent to state: (firstly,) whether the several public notices issued by him are to be considered as placing a positive embargo on British ships, and (secondly,) whether he considers the present tone of his negotiations with the Chinese government such as to warrant a belief that, at no very distant date, we may expect such an arrangement of existing differences, as to admit of British property being sent within the Bocca 'Tigris.

Moved by Mr. Leslie, seconded by Heerjeebhoy Rustonjee, and

2. *Resolved*, That a committee be formed, to communicate with captain Elliot; such committee to consist of Messrs. G. T. Braine, chairman, A. Jardine, W. Thompson, W. Dent, W. F. Gray, Dada-bhoy Rustonjee, C. B. Adam, and C. Kerr.

Moved by Mr. Fox, seconded by Mr. Maclean, and

3. *Resolved*, That this meeting be adjourned, pending the receipt of captain Elliot's reply.

Thanks were then voted to the chairman, and the meeting adjourned.

(B) The above resolutions were communicated to capt. Elliot, who returned the following answer.

Macao, 14th June, 1839.

Sir,—I have the honor to acknowledge your letter of yesterday's date. The meeting will permit me respectfully to remark, that I

understand an embargo to be an act of the government of a country, prohibiting the departure of the ships and goods of another. Founding my reply, to the first question proposed to me, on that impression, it will be obvious that the several public notices issued by me cannot place an embargo on British ships and goods. Their purpose and effect remain to be noticed. A crisis, of a nature unparalleled in point of importance, has recently supervened, in which I have found it my duty, for the general safety of the public interests under my superintendance, to issue certain prohibitory injunctions to her majesty's subjects, and careful reflection upon the act of parliament, the orders in council, and all previous analogous practice, pending our intercourse with China, has carried me to the conclusion that I have not transcended my lawful powers by issuing the notices in question.

I am of opinion, therefore, that the ordering of British ships or goods within the Bocca Tigris, under present circumstances, may, and most probably will, involve persons, upon whom such a responsibility can be fixed, in consequences of the most serious description. The stringency, however, of these instruments, the construction of their language, and the liabilities of every kind to be incurred by a departure from their terms, must be left to the attentive consideration of parties (if such there be) proposing to postpone public authority and general considerations, to their own views and particular interests. At all events, it is my duty again to warn her majesty's subjects in the most emphatic manner, that the entrance of British ships and goods within the Bocca Tigris, in the present state of affairs appears to me to be perilous in the highest degree. Beyond this consideration of danger, too, such a measure would be intensely humiliating and mischievous, because it establishes the principle that British subjects entertain a confidence in the justice and moderation of this government, notwithstanding all that has passed; consenting for themselves and their countrymen to trial and condemnation by Chinese officers and forms of Chinese judicature, for capital, and *a fortiori* all lesser, offenses. I trust I shall never be placed in the painful situation of addressing a special injunction to any subjects of her majesty's requiring them to desist from a course so unworthy of their country, and so dangerous to innocent men, whose lives may fall a sacrifice to their reckless cupidity, before the certain and powerful intervention of the queen can reach these shores, and disabuse the Chinese government of the imagination that such will ever be tolerated. I am conveying the plain sense of the instructions under the sign manual, when I declare that it is impossible of admission, at least till our

relations with this empire are more extensively modified. After this exposition, it is to be concluded that we shall hear no more of the entrance of British ships within the Bocca Tigris, under actual circumstances.

In reply to the second question submitted to me, I beg to say that I see no present reason to believe that her majesty's subjects may expect such an arrangement of existing differences as to admit of British ships and goods being sent within the Bocca Tigris, under the sanction of my authority, before the pleasure of her majesty's government be known to me.

I have the honor to remain your most obedient, humble servant,

(Signed)

CHARLES ELLIOT,

G. T. Braine, esq.

Chief superintendent, &c

(c) Minutes of an adjourned general meeting held at Macao, June 17th, 1839, at the office of Messrs. Dent & Co., G. T. Braine, esq., in the chair.

1. Proposed by Mr. W. Dent, seconded by Mr. Maclean, and

*Resolved*, That it is the opinion of this meeting, that the public notices of her majesty's chief superintendent, coupled with the explanations contained in his letter of 14th instant, are to be considered as conveying a positive order from him, as the organ of his government, prohibitory of British ships and property being sent within the Bocca Tigris, in the existing state of our relations with the Chinese government.

2. Proposed by Mr. C. Kerr, seconded by Mr. G. Smith, and

*Resolved*, That it now becomes necessary for British subjects to make some proper arrangements for the present disposal of ships and property in the outer anchorages; and that the committee be authorized to communicate with the chief superintendent, with the view of determining what course is most proper to be pursued.

3. Proposed by Mr. W. Dent, seconded by Mr. J. Holliday, and

*Resolved*. That Messrs. A. C. Maclean, T. Fox, and Gilbert Smith be added to the committee.

4. Proposed by Mr. W. Leslie, seconded by Mr. G. Smith, and

*Resolved*, That with implicit reliance on the chief superintendent, and the most entire dependence on the justice, wisdom, and power of the government of England to redress the wrongs of British merchants, this meeting is of opinion that the interests of all connected with the China trade will be best promoted by a cordial unanimity, and a strict adherence to the orders of the chief superintendent.

5. Proposed by Mr. Maclean, seconded by Mr. Kerr, and

*Resolved*, That the proceedings of this meeting be submitted to the chief superintendent at an early date; and that they be printed in the Canton newspapers.

Thanks were voted to the chairman, and the meeting adjourned.  
(Signed) GEORGE T. BRAINE, Chairman

In accordance with the preceding resolutions and opinions, expressed by the British merchants and chief superintendent, their regular commercial intercourse will probably remain suspended, until some new measures are taken to place it upon a secure and more honorable basis. Their last ship, the *Ann Jane*, passed out of the Bogue on the 16th instant.

With a view to hasten the entrance of the ships within the Bogue, and in compliance with orders received from their excellencies, the commissioner and governor, the keunmin foo and his coadjutor published the following edict, and caused it to be translated and distributed among the shipping, as well as to be placarded in the streets of Macao.

No. 48.

Lew, the assistant prefect of Kwangchow, and T'seang, the sub-prefect of Macao, make this clear proclamation. Whereas the commodity of opium, a deep and flowing poison, has by its extent aroused the great and terrible wrath of the emperor, he has specially commissioned a high officer to come to Canton, in conjunction with the governor, to examine and regulate the affairs of the ports of entry, more especially to extirpate the opium trade root and branch, and drive away all the store-ships to their own country, not permitting the least particle of it to remain to entail untold injury. He has ascertained that the store-ships have for successive years and months remained at anchor in the open sea, accumulating and housing the drug; and that sordid avaricious and scheming foreigners have desired to receive the freight offered to them for so doing. But now the drug has all been surrendered, and your ships are at liberty to return to your own country, or engage in honorable traffic; and why do you still remain anchored in every offing, protracting your stay in order to watch events, and hoping for a favorable change?

More particularly, the 18 sail of merchantmen from various countries, which have all come from their own ports bringing valuable commodities, and sailing myriads of miles over vast oceans to reach this land, there is not one of them which does not wish speedily to dispose of their cargoes. Lately, because the holds were closed while the opium was being delivered up, none of the merchants, although they

wished to enter the port and trade, could do so; but now, the drug having been wholly surrendered, their excellencies have graciously permitted the embargo to be taken off, and we the sub-prefects do transmit these orders to you, that you enter the port and trade. Already have two American ships, the Paris and Nantasket, applied for permission to enter the port and trade as usual: why do you who remain, (16 sail of vessels) still continue at anchor in the broad ocean, without thinking of entering the port? We cannot explain the reason fully, but suppose that both store-ships and merchantmen have all received the superintendent Elliot's commands, by which he tries to delude you with the extravagant notion that you can trade in the offings about Macao. But we have received a reply from their excellencies, reprimanding the said Elliot, and disallowing Macao as a port of entry, and also prohibiting all vessels alike from remaining in these anchorages and trading, which is in accordance with the fixed regulations. We wish to inquire of you both, of the said store-ships and of the merchantmen, what you are still waiting for or expecting? When we think of you foreigners, that you have come hither over such a vast and dangerous abyss, we cannot bear to sit still, and idly look on.

Wherefore we issue this lucid proclamation, which when it reaches each of the said foreign ships let them fully understand it. Let all of you who have surrendered the opium, instantly spread sail and return home; and let those who are fair traders also weigh anchor and enter the port. Let all those who are planning to get profitable trade be persuaded to become good foreigners, not idly listening to vain words, waiting to watch the course of events and hoping for a favorable change, which will only give cause for future repentance. Let every one arouse himself and examine his conduct, offering no opposition. A special edict.

Taoukwang, 19th year, 5th month, 4th day. (June 14th, 1839)

This called forth a notice in reply from captam Elliot, which we believe reached his excellency the commissioner, though no reply to it has hitherto been published.

No. 49

*Public notice to her majesty's subjects.*

The officer deputed by the commissioner, and the keunmin soo, having caused certain notices to be publicly placarded at Macao, inciting British merchants, commanders, and seamen to disregard the lawful injunctions of the undersigned, he has this day transmit-

ted to those authorities the accompanying declaration. A copy of the same will be submitted to the commissioner.

(Signed)

Macao, June 21st, 1839.

CHARLES ELLIOT,  
Chief superintendent, &c.

Elliot, &c., &c., learns that official notices have been publicly placarded, and sent to the ships of his nation, inciting the English merchants, commanders, and seamen to disregard his lawful injunctions, issued in the name of his most gracious sovereign. But wherefore are these notices silent upon the causes which have produced the conclusion of trade and intercourse at Canton? The high commissioner has published his own communications to Elliot. But where are the replies? These proceedings are highly inconsistent with the principles of peace and dignity: and Elliot must now declare the motives which have compelled him to require the merchants of his nation to leave Canton, and the ships no longer to return within the Bocca Tigris.

On the 24th of March last, Elliot repaired to Canton and immediately proposed to put an end to the state of difficulty and anxiety then existent, by the faithful fulfillment of the emperor's will: and he respectfully asked that he and the rest of the foreign community might be set at liberty, in order that he might calmly consider and suggest adequate remedies for the evils so justly denounced by his imperial majesty. He was answered by a close imprisonment of more than seven weeks, with armed men day and night before his gates, under threats of privation of food, water, and life. Was this becoming treatment to the officer of a friendly nation, recognized by the emperor, and who had always performed his duty peacefully and irreproachably, striving in all things to afford satisfaction to the provincial government? When it thus became plain that the commissioner was resolved to cast away all moderation, Elliot knew that it was incumbent upon him to save the imperial dignity, and prevent some shocking catastrophe on the persons of an imprisoned foreign officer, and two hundred defenseless merchants. For these reasons of prevailing force he demanded from the people of his nation all the English opium in their hands, in the name of his sovereign, and delivered it over to the commissioner, amounting to 20,283 chests. That matter remains to be settled between the two courts.

But how will it be possible to answer the emperor for this violation of his gracious will, that these difficult affairs should be managed with thoughtful wisdom, and with tenderness to the men from afar? What will be the feelings of the most just prince of his illustrious dynasty,

when it is made manifest to him by the command of her Britannic majesty, that the traffic in opium has been chiefly encouraged and protected by the highest officers in the empire, and that no portion of the foreign trade to China has paid its fees to the officers with so much regularity as this of opium! Terrible indeed will be his imperial majesty's indignation when he learns that the obligations into which the high commissioner entered, under his seal, to the officers of a foreign nation were all violated! The servants were not faithfully restored when one fourth of the opium was delivered; the boats were not permitted to run when one half was delivered; the trade was not really opened when three fourths were delivered; and the last pledge, that things should go on as usual when the whole was delivered, has been falsified by the reduction of the factories to a prison with one outlet, the expulsion of sixteen persons, some of them who never dealt in opium at all, some clerks, one a lad, and the proposal of novel and intolerable regulations.

Can a great moral and political reformation be effected at the sacrifice of all the principles of truth, moderation, and justice? Or is it believed that these spoliatory proceedings will extinguish the traffic in opium? Such hopes are futile, and the emperor has been deceived. But it is asked, on the other hand, whether the wise and just purposes of the emperor cannot and should not be fulfilled? Most assuredly they can, and they ought. It is certain, however, that the late measures of the commissioner have retarded this accomplishment of the imperial pleasure, given an immense impulse to the traffic in opium, which was stagnant for several months before he arrived, and shaken the prosperity of these flourishing provinces. It is probable that they will disturb the whole coasts of the empire, ruin thousands of families, foreign and native, and interrupt the peace between the celestial court and England, which has endured for nearly two hundred years.

The merchants and ships of the English nation do not proceed to Canton and Whampoa, because the gracious commands of the emperor for their protection are set at nought; because the truth is concealed from his imperial majesty's knowledge: because there is no safety for a handful of defenseless men in the grasp of the government at Canton; because it would be derogatory from the dignity of their sovereign and nation to forget all the insults and wrongs which have been perpetrated, till full justice be done, and till the whole trade and intercourse be placed upon a footing honorable and secure to this empire, and to England. The time is at hand; the gracious sovereign

of the English nation will cause the truth to be made known to the wise and august prince on the throne of this empire, and all things will be adjusted agreeably to the principles of purest reason.

Elliot and the men of his nation in China submit the expressions of their deepest veneration for the great emperor.

(Signed) CHARLES ELLIOT, Chief superintendent, &c

The following memoranda, first published in the Canton Register, will afford the reader some idea of the manner in which the high commissioner executed one of the most remarkable parts of the trust confided to him by the emperor. The memoranda, it will be seen, are in the form of a private journal.

No. 50.

*Destruction of the opium at Chunhow (Chinkow).*

On the afternoon of the 15th instant, at the request of Mr. King, I embarked with him from Macao, in the ship Morrison, captain Benson, and proceeded up the river to Chuenpe. Mr. K.'s object was twofold: first to witness the destruction of the opium, then going on in that neighborhood; and in the second place, to make inquiries respecting the conditions, on which ships may hereafter enter the Bogue. Since many had declared that the Chinese would not destroy one catty of the drug, and many others had expressed their belief that, should the destruction be actually undertaken, great quantities would be purloined; it seemed the more desirable that some foreigners should obtain admittance to the place where the drug was actually being destroyed.

The opportunity, therefore, of being an eye-witness of a scene so novel, was gladly improved, with the determination to make every practicable inquiry and observation, respecting the fidelity of the work as it went on under the immediate inspection of the high commissioner. Contrary to our expectations, no obstacles were opposed to our wishes; and I have only to regret, that others could not have availed themselves of a like opportunity to witness the same scene. That liberty to do this should be given, seems evidently to have been intended by the emperor's own mandate, in which he commands, that the opium should be destroyed in Canton, where natives and foreigners 'both alike might hear of it, and see it.'

About noon, on the 16th, the Morrison anchored at Chuenpe, near the station where the deliveries were made from the receiving ships, perhaps two miles below the fort on Anunghoy, and less than one fourth that distance from the guns on Chuenpe, and those in the war-junks in Anson's bay. In the course of the afternoon, a card



and an open note, stating the object of the visit, were put into the hands of the chief naval officer on the station, who after some demurring, saying the request ought to have been made at Macao, &c., promised to send off both by express to the commissioner, and to return an answer before noon, next day. A pilot, who came off from the fleet at sunrise the following morning, to make inquiries about the Morrison, said a favorable answer would be given; and his report seemed to be confirmed by the unusual display of flags on board the junks, and by the appearance of several large barges in the fleet.

At half-past nine o'clock, A. M. one of the large boats came alongside, having on board Loo Taeyuë, a naval officer of the rank of captain. He was immediately received on board, and conducted into the cabin. After being seated, and passing compliments, he said he had been directed by the high commissioner, and the admiral his master, to convey in person their pleasure that Mr. K. should proceed to Chunhow. He asked whether the party would prefer to go in his barge, or in the captain's gig; and remarked that it was unnecessary for us to take any arms, as we should be escorted by several boats, and faithfully protected and conducted back by himself. He further very politely — and very gallantly too for a son of Han — inquired if Mrs. King would like to join the party.

While our boat was being made ready, Loo improved the opportunity to give us some account of his valiant self and of the imperial navy, and made sundry inquiries about admiral Maitland, whom he had the pleasure of seeing some months back. He inquired particularly for Mr. Morrison, who acted as interpreter on that occasion; and wished to know if the English superintendents, Elliot and Johnston, were both at Macao. He did his best to make himself agreeable to us, and was throughout the day attentive and lavish of compliments. He admired the ship and crew, and did not fail to mark the contrast between them and his own.

At 10 o'clock, we left the Morrison, our party consisting of Mr. and Mrs. King, captain Benson, myself, and six seamen. Loo, in his own boat, manned with about sixty seamen, with a few attendants, led the way, and our gig followed. As we passed through the fleet, several other boats, with officers on board, joined the party, some under sail, and others with rowers — all in high spirits and full of glee. When east of Auson's bay, having a little islet on our right, and the ruins of an old fort on the left, we passed through Sankow (the *three mouths* of the creek), and over Shakeo (sandy point), and with fair wind and tide reached Chunhow in less than an hour from the time

of leaving the ship. Chunhow is, I should think, five or six miles from the fort on Chuenpe; and nearly due east, distant about two miles from the fort on Anunghoy. From the islet above mentioned, our course was northeast up a small creek, with hills and dales, rice-fields and rivulets, on each side. A few thatched huts were seen here and there, with two or three small villages off to the southeast. In the opposite direction, near the banks of the creek, there was a military station, a mere watch-house, and a large ancestral temple. A good many boats were passing and repassing the river, exhibiting on all sides the aspect of quiet and industry.

Chunhow is a long narrow village, on the east side of the creek, running north and south, perhaps one third of a mile. The site selected for the deposit and destruction of the opium, is on the bank of the creek, at the brow of a hill, a short distance from the north end of the village, including an area about 400 or 500 feet square, strongly empaled with bamboos. Crowds of spectators appeared in the boats, on the houses, and on the sides of the hill, as our party passed by the village. As we approached the landing-place, the war-boats and junks beat a salute; and two divisions of troops, in full uniform, were drawn up under their respective standards, one on the south, the other on the north, of the enclosure. It was a fine morning, and the Chinese seemed delighted with the arrival of our little gig. The scene around us, taking it all in all, was pleasing and somewhat imposing; still there was something in the work itself which made me feel sad and sick at heart.

Just before reaching the landing-place, Loo, our guide, asked whether we would see the commissioner. Being answered in the affirmative, he inquired what ceremonies we would perform, and whether we would make the *kotow* or not. Refusing to perform the latter, and intimating what would be our pleasure, it was agreed at once, that we should conform to the usages of our own country.

Loo, stepping on shore before us, begged us to wait till he could announce our arrival, and make arrangements for reception. After a short absence, he returned attended by a military officer, named Wongchin, deputed by the commissioner to wait on the visitors. He wore a long heavy cutlas, and was booted and belted like a warrior. He was a Mohammedan, a native of one of the northern provinces; rather tall, stout, of a very dark complexion, wearing a thick long black beard. He had evidently been bred in the camp, and inured to a martial life. As he and Loo approached our gig, the latter pointed out each of us, calling us by name; and then requested me

to step on shore. After a formal introduction to his friend Wong-chin, Loo stated the arrangements that had been made for the occasion; we were first to examine the whole works in detail, and afterwards were to have an audience with the commissioner, if we desired it. Also it was intimated, that we should choose our own time, and inspect every part as long and as minutely as we wished.

Our party now stepped from the gig, and passing along a pier, entered the enclosure. This, as described above, was a large area, surrounded by a strong palisade, like a Malayan camp. There were gates on each side, excepting the east; at these, sentinels were stationed, and no person was allowed to enter without a ticket. And on going out of the place, every one was examined. The number of workmen was said to be about five hundred. The number of officers, civil and military, could not have been less than sixty or eighty. A collection of finer looking men I have scarcely ever seen. Many of the clerks and attendants, too, were young and good-looking. All these officers were employed as inspectors and overseers. A part of them were on elevated seats, under mat sheds, to watch all the movements, in every part of the enclosure; and their position was such that nothing could escape their notice. By alternation, some of these were kept always at their posts, day and night. Another part of the officers superintended the delivery of the opium from the chests, which had been stored up in small enclosures within the large one. Special care was taken to see if each chest and parcel now corresponded to what it was marked down, when taken from the store-ships.

On the west side of the enclosure, just within the palisades, were three large vats or trenches, running from east to west, say 150 feet long, 75 feet broad, and 7 deep, flagged with stone, and lined along the sides with heavy timbers. Each of these three had its own fence, with entrances only on one side. When we were there, one had no opium in it; a second was being filled; and another was nearly ready to be emptied.

The process to which the drug was subjected, was briefly this. In the first place, a trench was filled two feet deep, more or less, with fresh water, from the brow of the hill. The first trench was in this state, having just been filled with fresh water. Over the second, in which the people were at work, forms, with planks on them, were arranged a few feet apart. The opium in baskets was delivered into the hands of coolies, who going on the planks carried it to every part of the trench. The balls were then taken out one by one, and

thrown down on the planks, stamped on with the heel till broken in pieces, and then kicked into the water. At the same time, other coolies were employed in the trenches, with hoes and broad spatulas, busily engaged in beating and turning up the opium from the bottom of the vat. Other coolies were employed in bringing salt and lime, and spreading them profusely over the whole surface of the trench. The third was about half-filled, standing like a distiller's vat, not in a state of active fermentation, but of slow decomposition, and was nearly ready to be drawn off. This was to be done through a narrow sluice, opened between the trench and the creek. This sluice was two feet wide, and somewhat deeper than the floor of the trench. It was furnished with a screen, made fine like a sieve, so as to prevent any large masses of the drug from finding their way into the creek. Loo told us that the destruction of the opium, which commenced on the 3d, would be completed by the 23d. At first, he said, less than 1000 per day were worked off; but the day we were there he thought the number would be nearly 1300 chests.

By half-past 11 o'clock, we had examined, and reëxamined every part of the process of destruction. The degree of care and fidelity, with which the whole work was conducted, far exceeded our expectations; and I cannot conceive how any business could be more faithfully executed. The watch was apparently much stricter, on every side, than it was during the detention of foreigners in Canton. One poor man, at Chunhow, for only attempting to carry off some small pieces of opium about his person, was, on detection, almost instantly visited with the extreme penalty of the law. If any was pilfered, it must have been in very small quantities, and at the most imminent hazard of life; at least, so I am constrained to believe.

Well satisfied with the inspection of the trenches, we were again asked if we were ready to see the commissioner. A seat for Mrs. K. was provided near the boat in one of the watch-houses, where she was furnished with tea and sweetmeats, attended by captain Benson, while Mr. King and myself, conducted by Loo and Wongchin, proceeded to the east side of the enclosure, to the apartments of the commissioner. These were large and commodious, built of bamboos, like the temporary theatres of the Chinese. The hall of audience was about twenty feet square, a little elevated, and open on the west side, so as to command a full view of the trenches and landing-place. The floor was covered with carpets, and the walls decorated with scrolls. When within a few yards of the hall, Loo pointed out to us one by one, the officers we were going to meet. Lin, his majesty's

high commissioner, occupied the east side of the hall alone, seated in a broad chair or sofa, with two tables near him, one on each side. The admiral, or commander-in-chief, of the maritime forces of the province, occupied a seat alone at the commissioner's right, on the north side of the hall; at his left, on the south side of the hall, the hoppo and commissioner of justice, or *nganchäsze*, were seated. All the other officers were standing, some within and others without the hall, habited in their summer dresses, wearing silken boots, and light straw hats or bonnets, crowned with buttons indicative of their respective rank.

When leaving Macao, we had little expectation of being so soon ushered into the presence of such dignitaries as those now before us. However, we determined to take full advantage of Chinese moderation, and to protract our interview so as to see and to learn whatever the occasion would allow. With a suitable air of indifference, and all due gravity, *à la Chinoise*, we advanced to the west side of the hall. Here we took off our hats, and bowed to the commissioner, standing directly before him, surrounded by a dense crowd of officers and attendants. Loo and Wongchin, at the same time, in the middle of the hall, kneeled and prostrated themselves before his excellency, who immediately bade them rise; and the conference commenced, and lasted full two hours. Loo and Wongchin were chief speakers, first addressing the commissioner, and then communicating with us.

The commissioner opened the conversation by inquiring if Mr. K. had received his communication, addressed to him, sometime back, while in Canton. In replying to this, reference was made to the inconveniences and losses sustained by the late proceedings; and it was inquired, whether any security would be given that such should not occur in future. This prepared the way to ask for a specification of the conditions on which ships will henceforth be allowed to enter the port. His excellency said, the evils had grown gradually and secretly, because their authors had been dealt with so leniently; and that now the time had come when forbearance was no longer possible. It was solely for the suppression of the traffic in opium that the late severe measures had been prosecuted. The illicit trade, he said, must now be stopped; the other should be protected. After speaking long and animatedly on this point, the commissioner gave the following in writing.

“Vessels engaging in the regular and honorable trade, and really having no connection with the hurtful practice of introducing opium,

shall assuredly receive additional favor, and shall in no way be involved in difficulties.

“Vessels engaging in the clandestine sale of opium, shall assuredly be examined and treated with great severity, and no degree of favor or leniency shall be shown to them.

“In brief, the good are good for themselves, and the evil are evil for themselves. Let the good, dismissing all anxiety of heart, prosecute their commerce freely, without any apprehensions of difficulty. As for those who are evil, it only remains that they early turn about, change their practices, and abandon their vain expectations.”

In the course of the conversation, Mr. K. presented two papers to the commissioner, one referring to his own vessels, asking that they might enter and trade as formerly. This, the commissioner said, should be granted. In the second paper, after alluding to the unhappy and dangerous position into which affairs have been recently placed, it was urged, that speedy reparation ought to be made for all losses that had been unjustly incurred, that ample security should be given that the like interruption of the regular trade should not again occur, and that it should be clearly proclaimed that it was only against the traffic in opium that severity is to be exercised. With a view to remove existing evils, to guard against their recurrence, to preserve peace, and to extend commerce, it was further suggested, that the port-charges should be fixed according to the amount of goods; that three additional ports, northward, should be opened to all foreigners; that merchants should be allowed to have their families reside with them; that in all criminal cases, the offender should be tried by his own consul, acting jointly with the local commissioner of justice; that ministers plenipotentiary should be allowed to reside in the capital, near the emperor, &c.

Very particular inquiries were made respecting the intentions of the English in withdrawing from the port, and also as to the best mode of conveying communications to the queen of England and other European sovereigns, in order to secure their coöperation for the suppression of the traffic in opium. Inquiries were made for maps, geographies, and other foreign books; and particularly for a complete copy of Morrison's Dictionary.

From the whole drift of the conversation and inquiries during the interview, it seemed very evident that the sole object of the commissioner was, and is, to do away the traffic in opium, and to protect and preserve that which is legitimate and honorable. Both in the manner and matter of his conversation, he appeared well; betraying,

indeed, now and then, more or less of that partiality for his own country and sovereign, and that disregard of all others, which are so characteristic of great statesmen. Throughout, he was bland and vivacious, and exhibited nothing that was "barbarous or savage." He appeared to be not more than 45 years of age; is short, rather stout; has a smooth, full round face, a slender black beard, and a keen dark eye. His voice was clear, and his tones distinct. His countenance indicated a mind habituated to care and thoughtfulness. Once only he smiled — almost laughed, — as Mr. K. declined to characterize the members of the cohong. The question was, who of them were good? It was not answered. The accounts given him of British naval power — especially of steam vessels — seemed rather unpalatable, and once or twice raised a frown on his brow.

After taking leave of the commissioner, we were conducted back in the same manner as we came up. A large collection of presents were sent after us. At five P. M., we were on our way to Macao. About nine o'clock in the evening, our old friend Loo came down to us, to return the papers for translation, they having been presented in English, and the commissioner's linguists being unable to understand them. A translation was promised to be soon ready, and he again took leave. The next day at sunset we reached Macao, well pleased with the trip.

P. S. The commissioner has in his service four natives, all of whom have made some progress in the English tongue. The first is a young man, educated at Penang and Malacca, and for several years employed by the Chinese government at Peking. The second is an old man, educated at Serampore. The third is a young man who was once at the school at Cornwall, Conn., U. S. A. The fourth is a young lad, educated in China, who is able to read and translate papers on common subjects, with much ease, correctness, and facility.

The manner, in which the Chinese propose to themselves to carry on the trade with foreigners, will be seen by the following regulations, translated by Mr. Fearon, and copied from the Canton Press.

No. 51.

*New port regulations.*

Yu, by imperial appointment, acting collector of customs at the port of Canton, &c., &c., to the linguists Tsaemow (Old Tom) and the others, for their full information.

On the 6th day of the 5th month of the 19th year of Taoukwang, I received the following communication from the governor: "On the

2d day of the 5th month (June 12th), the custom-house clerks, Le-king reported that the American ships Nantasket and Paris had entered the port : and on the 4th day, the two sze magistrates made their joint report respecting the new regulations they were commanded to frame, for dispatching civil officers to search and examine the foreign ships, with a military and police force. They report the result (of their deliberations) and wait for orders how to act." A draft is copied out and handed up for the consideration of the governor, containing regulations for guarding against the smuggling of opium by the foreign ships lately arrived. On receipt of it, let the several officers respectfully obey it. We, the sze magistrates, in obedience to the regulations proceed to lay them before you.

§ 1. Immediately a foreign vessel anchors in the outer waters, an officer should be delegated to take her measurement and draught of water ; this should be clearly written out and notified in a sealed certificate. After her arrival at Whampoa, it would be expedient to send an officer again to measure her, when, should it appear that her depth of water does not agree with that entered in the certificate, the discrepancy should be reported, that orders might be issued to fine her.

Upon examination it appears that the merchant ships of the various foreign nations which bring cargoes to Canton to trade, anchor, for a time, at Lintin and other places in the outer-waters : there, in league with traitorous black-guards of the inner land, they smuggle opium, and secretly dispose of other contraband goods. They then enter the river. These evils are without bounds, and are indeed intensely wicked. The opium ships now in the outer waters have delivered up every particle of the smoking filth which they had hoarded up, and which is now all destroyed ; they are also sternly prohibited from ever bringing it hereafter. But it is to be feared that at some future day their former wickedness will again bud forth ; we must not, therefore, omit to enact laws beforehand to guard against this. Now the collector of customs has determined that, both in the outer waters and in the river, (the foreign ships) shall be subject to the same laws respecting their draught of water as the grain boats. An officer being delegated to measure them and note their depth of water. By this salutary measure, the evil may be completely guarded against.

§ 2. All foreign vessels coming to Canton, in future years, to trade, (the season of their arrival being always the same,) must be correctly measured outside, ere they will be permitted to enter the port.

Whampoa being situated so near the capital, no officer of rank has ever been stationed there.



§ 3. As the foreign vessels will have to be measured again when there, it would be expedient to appoint an officer of known ability, to superintend the management of the business.

The plan is expedient, and hereafter as soon as it is reported that a ship wishes to come to Whampoa, the government will delegate from Canton an acting magistrate, of known ability and talents, to proceed thither beforehand, taking with him linguists and people to measure the ship. On her arrival there, she must, according to law, be measured; the officer superintending in person. Should her draught of water not correspond with that mentioned in the sealed certificate, it will be apparent that smuggling has been going on outside during her passage up, and a report of the fact must be forthwith sent to government, that the affair may be investigated and punished. When he has completed the duties of his mission, he will be allowed to return to the capital and report himself.

§ 4. When a foreign ship comes into port, she should, on arrival at Whampoa, be watched, and prevented from smuggling. The officer should be stationed on the left, and the custom-house runners on the right side of her, their boats being anchored on each side of her. Thus for keeping her in awe, there would be the deputed naval officer: for guarding against her, the soldiery belonging to the cruisers on that station: for taking account of the lading and unlading of cargo, the Whampoa clerks: and for accompanying the cargo up to Canton, the river police. This regulation comprehends every emergency, and, if only acted upon faithfully, will completely prevent the least smuggling going on. It may hereafter become expedient to appoint another officer to superintend and inquire into the conduct of the military and police forces employed on the above duty. Should he discover that there has been the least remissness, negligence, smuggling, receiving bribes, carelessness in guarding, or any other such vile practices, he should forthwith report the facts, and the offenders should really be visited with the heaviest penalties.

It appears by this, that for guarding against smuggling on board foreign ships which come up to Whampoa, there are, an officer of ability, custom-house runners, clerks, and soldiery, whose duty individually and collectively is to watch and examine. The above regulation is really excellent and most complete, but it does not provide for a high civil officer being delegated to superintend the whole, and to inquire into the conduct of the police and soldiery; to see that their duties are more than nominal, and that carelessness in attention does not take the place of watchful energy; it is therefore now determined:

§ 5 That an able officer of rank be delegated to superintend the whole, and to keep a check on the police and soldiery. It is

expedient to select an officer who is well known for his ability, acquaintance with the duty, and trustworthiness, who must remain constantly on guard. This will effectually ensure watchfulness and alertness in guarding, and will prevent [the soldiery, &c.,] from secretly enjoying their pleasures, and conniving at the foreigners smuggling.

Respecting the selection of officers for this duty, it may happen at the time that they have other appointments to attend to, which will make it difficult to send them on this mission. The number of acting officers and those waiting for appointments, now in Canton is not great, neither are they well fitted by experience to undertake the duty, and are liable to be called away on any other duty, and are consequently unable to remain any length of time to watch and guard. Besides this it would be an extremely difficult task to muster these gentlemen to select one of their number.

§ 6. It is therefore permitted that, according to the circumstances of the time being, any one, from among the candidates for office, assistant magistrates, &c., who may not be employed on any other duty, may be selected to superintend and guard.

When the foreign ship has completed her lading, and left the port, (should there be no other vessel at Whampoa,) there will be no further occasion for the police and soldiery to guard against and keep them in awe;

§ 7. Orders may, therefore, then be sent to the chief superintending delegate to return to the capital, and report the completion of his duties. Afterwards, another vessel coming up, the same officer, should he be engaged on no other duty, must be sent to superintend this.

The duty of this officer will be extremely onerous, as immediately a ship arrives, he will be sent down, without a moment's delay, to superintend her second measurement. We, the sze magistrates, have hitherto had no reports sent to our office, of the time of a foreign vessel's arrival at Whampoa: and were the report to be first sent in, orders to be waited for ere the officers could go, and consideration as to the selection to be made, much delay would occur ere the ships could be measured. It is therefore enacted,

§ 8. That hereafter, when the merchant vessels of the various nations come to Canton to trade, the time of their arrival must be immediately reported to government, who will send either an assistant magistrate, or an officer from the cheheen's office, down to Whampoa beforehand, and give his whole energy, day and night, to the maintenance of a strict guard and surveillance.

Should there be any such blackguards among the police and soldiery, as to keep away from the ship, or neglect their watch, or smuggle, or receive bribes, or show remissness and trifling, or dare to borrow pretenses for ex-

torting money from the common people, then the whole circumstances of their offending must be forthwith secretly reported to government, and the offenders sent up to Canton to meet their punishment. As to all those fish, ferry, comprador boats, &c., which ply about the shipping, orders should be requested for the delcgate to search and examine them, that all evils which might arise therefrom may be prevented. Whether the number of ships of all nations, which may in after years, resort to China, will be large or small, there is no means of knowing certainly.

§ 9. Should the number of those which hereafter come up to Whampoa, be very considerable, it will be necessary for one officer to superintend the measuring, and another the guard and surveillance. It is expedient therefore that, in such cases, two officers be appointed, one to superintend each department. Should the number, however, be small, the measuring department will be but trifling, and one officer can superintend both duties. The measuring officer will therefore remain to superintend the preventive guard, and to keep the soldiery to their duty.

Thus the whole duty of measuring and watching will be performed, without it being necessary to send two officers, and with much less trouble and inconvenience.

§ 10. Should the said delegate be remiss in his duty, receive bribes, or allow the clerks and soldiery to connive with the foreigners, he should, immediately the fact is known, be deprived of his rank and dismissed the service.

An official court of inquiry, must in such cases be held, to determine his guilt or innocence, and strict justice done. The whole facts of the case with the verdict, must be reported to government to receive its sanction. At the same time, reports of the case must be sent to the collector of customs, for his information and guidance.

“This coming before me the governor, I do ordain, in reply, that these regulations, setting aside all former ones, be adopted for managing the trade. The hong merchants, Mowqua and Ponkhequa are hereby commanded forthwith to secure the American ships Nantasket and Paris, in accordance with the new and fixed regulations. Let them proceed in person to Whampoa, and there with all sincerity and energy subject [the ships] to the strictest scrutiny and examination. The bond hitherto required must be signed both by the foreigners and hong merchants, by which they solemnly bind themselves cheerfully and willingly to abide by the consequences of their crimes, should they be discovered to have opium, and to deliver it up. His honor the collector of customs will also, on his part,

(should he discover opium) when the holds are opened by his orders, forthwith deliver it up to me the governor, that it may be recorded

“Business must now be carried on as is above set forth. The hong merchants must accord their most implicit obedience; and in company with the linguists, hasten forward, and in all sincerity give their whole minds to the management of their business. Not a moment’s delay will be permitted. If they allow any smuggling, or dare, as formerly, to pass it over as a trifling matter, or do not carefully search and investigate, or if they rashly and hurriedly give the bond, and smuggling of opium or other contraband goods is afterwards detected, then immediately, as discovery of the facts is made, the senior, junior, and security hong merchants, with the linguists, shall all be taken and visited with most extreme punishment. Not a particle of indulgence will be shown them. Let this be circulated among all the officers of the province for their information and guidance.”

On receipt of the above I, the collector, in compliance therewith, issue this edict for general information. Immediately the said linguists receive it, let them accord their implicit obedience to the governor’s regulations for managing trade. Do not trifle with nor disobey this edict, lest you become involved in guilt. Haste! Haste! A special edict. June 23d, 1839.

After months have been occupied in discussion, the question of the bond has finally been settled, by adopting a somewhat modified form, written both in Chinese and English, of which the following is the English version.

No. 52.

*A duly prepared bond.*

The foreign captain ——— belonging to the United States of America has now received the commands of the heavenly dynasty rigidly prohibiting opium; and he has had it clearly proclaimed to him that certain new regulations have been established to that effect, and the said foreigner, holding the same in great dread, will not dare to oppose or violate them.

Now the said ship just arrived brings no opium, and I now give this as a true certificate of the same.

Dated Canton, — — —

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At this point of time, we close the series of papers connected with this crisis in the opium trade. The drama seems but just begun. Only the first act is yet finished; and for the second, growing out of it, we must wait until the will of the Indian and the home governments be

made known. We shall endeavor to keep our readers informed of all the principal events which transpire in relation to it. Since the trade was reöpened, none but American ships have entered the port. These, only ten or eleven in number, have found no difficulty in carrying on their trade as formerly. All the captains of these ships have, we believe, signed the bond (No. 52), writing their names between the Chinese and English, so as to sign it in both languages. What consequences will result, should the Chinese attempt to hold the foreigners in Canton responsible for the acts of smuggling on the coasts we cannot tell; none of those who signed the bond, signed it for any others than themselves individually, and there is no valid ground to suppose that the Chinese consider it in a different light from foreigners.

With two or three exceptions, none but Americans now reside in Canton. A small custom-house for the tide-waiters is erected at the landing place near the Company's garden, where proper officers take the name of every foreigner who comes ashore. Two boats, provided by the hong merchants, are anchored at the same place, and boats from the shipping are not permitted to stop at any other landing. The two inclosures, which were so urgently requested by foreigners some years ago, are now completed, and the square is much more agreeable as a promenade than formerly. Many of the sailing and rowing boats which were hauled up on shore by the hong merchants' order at the commencement of the siege, still remain within the inclosure; the houses in which they were kept have all been pulled down; and the little inlet that ran into the square opposite the Swedish hong has been filled. The terraces on the top of the factories have mostly been taken down by the hong merchants; in one instance, the balustrades around a tiled terrace were taken away, leaving it exposed, and comparatively dangerous. New China street still remains closed at the southern end; Hoglane has been reöpened. Many of the thirteen hong's are left without an inhabitant, and the bustle and business which once characterized them are gone. Access to the suburbs in the rear of the factories is free as formerly, several parties having gone around the city walls, and the conduct of the common people towards foreigners seems not to be changed in the least

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ART. II. *China Opened: or, A Display of the topography, history, customs, manners, arts, manufactures, commerce, literature, religion, jurisprudence, &c., of the Chinese empire.* By the Rev. CHARLES GUTZLAFF. Revised by the Rev. ANDREW REED, D. D. Two vols. pp. 510, 570. London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1838.

THESE beautifully printed volumes recommend themselves to our notice from a number of considerations, not one of the least of which is the celebrity of the author. When the work was first announced, we were eager to procure it, in order to satisfy several inquiries which had arisen in the course of our reading, and to enlarge our small stock of authentic facts from the stores of one supposed to be possessed of so much information concerning the Chinese. The title of the book too, is also calculated to attract notice and excite expectation. Mr. Gutzlaff, some time ago published, as a discovery, that China was open; and this he repeated, until many persons in western lands believed it; but China still obstinately remaining shut as close as ever to all permanent general intercourse, he has occupied the leisure from the duties of his office by endeavoring so to describe the country and its inhabitants, that they shall be open to the minds of his readers in all their multiform phases. To describe any country, or even a single town, so as to enable one, ignorant of the language and customs of the inhabitants, to suppose himself in their midst is very difficult: how much is this difficulty enhanced, and the chances for making mistakes increased, when the writer has never himself traveled in the country, and is obliged to trust to other eyes for the accuracy of what he describes? In this instance, the object proposed evidently was, so to delineate all the characteristic traits of the Chinese people, their country, customs, language, and government, that they should be opened to the reader's mind, and pass before him as if he were among them. If this has not been done, the author cannot blame us if we quarrel with the title of his performance, for otherwise it gives an erroneous impression: and one part of speaking the truth consists in delivering that truth so that it will not convey a wrong idea. There were other reasons, besides the two we have mentioned, found in the interesting nature of the subject, the unique language of the people, and the many idiosyncrasies of this nation generally, which combin-

ed to heighten our desire to peruse these volumes. But having procured and commenced reading them, not the fame of the author, the title of the work, the interest at present attaching to the subject, or any other reason, could induce us to finish them as we began; the materials for the dish may have been good enough originally, but they are served up in so unpalatable a manner, as to disgust the taste, and ill repay the trouble of perusal.

A man possessed of the author's fluency in speaking the dialects of this country, which has of itself been the means of enabling him to voyage very extensively where they are spoken, should give us a work commensurable with these advantages. Most other voyagers have had but one opportunity to examine, and cannot satisfy themselves on all points, but Mr. Gutzlaff's numerous voyages have given him better opportunities. The world anticipate, in such a case, and justly too, we think, the results of his own repeated observations, combined with suitable remarks upon the writings of his predecessors; thus enlarging our present, and rectifying our former, ideas, and giving at one view whatever is truly valuable concerning the Chinese. The public have been supplied a long time with books upon China, written for the most part by passing travelers, who, introduced at once into the midst of strange places, and there seeing many strange things, and hearing more still stranger, were immediately seized with the disease peculiar to such circumstances, and in due time produced a bantling, varying in size from a single duodecimo to a post octavo of three volumes. The mere mention of such authors as Wood, Holman, Meyen, Dobell, Roberts, Downing, Ruschenberger, and others, sufficiently describes the class of books to which we refer. But when, to a respectable knowledge of the manners and customs of the Chinese, and a pretty general acquaintance with their literature, is superadded a long residence in the country, with leisure to investigate new topics, and opportunity to verify such as are doubtful, we expect more than the superficialities of society, we demand from such authors the reasons for what we see about us, a development of the secret springs which move, and the influences which regulate, this immense empire. In all these particulars, our reasonable expectations have been sadly disappointed, and the author must not to be displeased if we deal with him in proportion to our dissatisfaction. The volumes before us are hastily written and carelessly revised; for what is asserted on one page is sometimes greatly modified, if not contradicted, on another; the materials are thrown together without much regard to their order, and the whole performance evinces a great lack of

research and judgment. For variety of subjects treated upon, they somewhat resemble a dictionary, but the absence of the useful alphabetical arrangement prevents the completion of the comparison.

Without spending more time in general remark, let us take up a chapter, and examine its contents seriatim, which will prove whether or not the observations already made are just. The fourth chapter of the first volume contains a summary of the natural productions of the Chinese empire, nearly all of which, judging from internal evidence, was derived from the author's own observations. On this point, however, we are not quite sure; for not only in this chapter, but in various other parts of the book, paragraphs occur as original which are surprisingly like some we have seen in other works, both in sense and sound. But more on this anon. This chapter is oddly placed between the one giving a general view of China, and that describing the provinces composing it, subjects which ought not to have been thus separated; the last paragraph of the third chapter giving a short notice of the climate, appears to have suggested the one we propose to examine. After telling the reader that he intends to describe the productions of the whole empire, the author says:

“In China Proper, the domestic animals are in smaller quantities than we find them in Europe. The Chinese prefer a vegetable to an animal diet; and were it otherwise, the greater part of the population are too poor to procure animal food. They have besides a strange aversion to milk and butter, and have therefore no inducement to feed cattle in order to obtain these articles. Beef, of all animal food, is the least in use among them; many Chinese abstain from it entirely from religious motives. Though if they even wished to indulge in this luxury, there are no meadows in which to graze the cattle, nor would an overflowing population admit of great herds of brute consumers.”

In the first place, we are here told that ‘domestic animals are in smaller quantities in China than in Europe,’ an assertion that may or may not be true; for neither the author nor any of his readers can satisfactorily prove or disprove it. The reason given for this “smaller *quantity*,” is that the Chinese prefer a vegetable to an animal diet; but if their preference was the other way, the greater part of the population could not gratify it on account of their poverty. But this is not all the reason; “they have a strange aversion to milk and butter,” articles which most of them never saw, because, as follows just below, “an overflowing population would not admit of great herds of brute consumers.” The sum of all this is, that the Chinese, being poor, cannot procure animal food; but there are no meadows to graze cattle, and for the products of the dairy they have a great



aversion; and therefore the Chinese do not eat beef, because they do not want it, and cannot get it. A few sentences ahead, we are told, however, "that a diminutive species of oxen is very common, which is used exclusively before the plough;" and that, "in the southern provinces, the buffalo is everywhere to be met with." It would have been proper to have told us where these cows and buffaloes get their living, since a few lines above they were deprived of grazing ground. The fact is, however, that the Chinese do consume large quantities of flesh, chiefly pork and poultry, but they do not eat much beef or mutton, at least in the eastern parts of the empire.

In a short paragraph upon the horse, we are told that "the Chinese horse is *very* small," but then that "the Mantchou horse is not much larger, and *very* hardy;" an exception, however, occurs in the "horses of Shantung and Szechuen, which are *very* celebrated," though by whom, or for what excellencies, they have become famous, does not appear. "In the north, the animal is far more frequent than in the south, . . . . but the use of it is *very* limited, and the Chinese are *very* awkward riders," all of which is doubtless *very* instructive to those who have never seen a Chinese horse. If the author had extended his researches in Chinese literature, he would have found the *Ma King*, a work upon the veterinary art in four volumes, from which he could certainly have extracted something more novel to his readers than the see-saw paragraph just quoted. He also ought to have been more explicit in describing the difference between European and Chinese pigs, which he says, is in "the formation of the head and neck;" we always thought, from the specimens in the streets, their peculiarities consisted in their short legs and bent backs. Speaking of the dog, he observes; "throughout the *whole empire*, there seems to exist only one species of dog, which nearly resembles the shepherd's dog in Europe. In *Tibet*, the dogs belonging to the mastiff species, are very ferocious, whilst the China breed is very tame and seldom bites." Strictly speaking, there is only one species of dog known in the world, the varieties having all been induced by domestication, but if "*there seems to exist only one species in the whole empire,*" is it not singular that the author should forget this, and in the next sentence, speak of the Tibetan mastiffs: is not Tibet a part of the empire?

Again; "the tiger *seems to be* the most frequent of all the wild beasts, though it is *never* found in the well-inhabited districts. It is *said* even to live in the high latitudes of Tartary. The freckled skin is much esteemed by military officers; its gall, as well as bones, is

mixed with their food, in order to inspire their souls with tiger-courage. Panthers and bears are occasionally found; the paws of the latter are considered the greatest delicacy one can eat."

This extract contains one of the faults most common in the book; it also occurs in the last quotation, and in both places we have marked it by italics. If as readers, we are expected to put the least faith in the assertions contained in these pages, there should be more stable grounds for credence, than a "seems to be." Take these two instances:—how does the writer know that there is only one variety of dog in the whole empire, or that the tiger is the most frequent of all wild beasts? He has never traveled the length and breadth of the country to verify the former, nor made many investigations to prove the latter; and although both of the assertions may be true, it is more than probable that they are not. It might also be added, by way of emendation, to the assertions in this paragraph, that the Tartarian tiger is a different species from the Bengal animal, with which he evidently confounds it; that the true panther has seldom if ever been found out of Africa; that the "freckled" skin of the tiger is also worn by other classes than military officers; that its gall and bones do not form so frequent an ingredient of their food as his general assertion intimates; and lastly, that a bear's paw is not, even to a Chinese palate, considered the greatest delicacy that can be eaten.

Speaking of monkeys, he says, that the monkeys found in the southern parts of China do not differ from those in the Indian Archipelago, which is a mistake; for the singular proboscis monkey (*Cercoptes nasicus*) is peculiar to the southwestern parts of China and to Cochinchina. Following this single sentence, which finishes the account of monkeys, occurs a singularly expeditious mode of reasoning, and one too by which the author arrives at a great many of his conclusions. "As the plains of Tartary are very extensive and little inhabited, venison and fur-bearing animals of every description abound." To our fancy, a truer mode of expressing this syllogism would be as follows, and we venture to fill up the outline:

As the plains of Tartary are very extensive and little inhabited,

[ Therefore nobody knows what is to be found there;

But as something is probably found there, and wild animals as likely as anything else,

Therefore] venison and fur-bearing animals of every description abound.

By the way, "*venison animals abounding*" (a term we always understood was applied to the flesh of deer only after death,) reminds one

of the markets of Archangel in winter, where the frozen carcasses of cattle, deer, and other animals, are said to be exposed for sale in such positions that the beholder imagines them to be alive. Perhaps the same custom obtains in Tartary.

Passing over the paragraphs on ornithology—which contain but little worthy of the labor of criticising, and wind up with a syllogism precisely similar to the one just quoted, proving that sylvan songsters are scarce in China, because there are “only a small number of trees in the best inhabited districts,”—we proceed to those on fish. *Imprimis*, we are here told, “that the male of the gold fish is of a beautiful red from the head half down the back, whilst the remaining part is of a golden hue: a silver color is the tint which adorns the females.” If the author had inquired of competent persons among the natives, or if he had gone a few rods to Mr. Beale's garden in Macao, from either source he might have learned, that the sexes of the gold fish are of the same color, and that the same fish at different periods of its existence is of a beautiful red, a golden hue, and a silver tint, and that varieties of it are found of a dark brown verging to a black.

“The Shantung sea eel is considered a very great dainty, and much sought after. Here also we meet with the mullet, which abounds likewise on the coast of the Yangtsze keäng. Carp, perch, the sea bream, and a species of cod, are indigenous in the Chinese waters. The Chinese do not engage in the whale fishery, nor do whales often visit their coast; herrings are almost unknown.”

This extract wears the appearance of knowledge, and deserves a little examination. The author first carries his reader off to Shantung to speak of its eel, which, for aught we know, may be the dainty he describes; he then comes a little farther south, and mentions the mullet: while both of these fish are common in the markets of Canton and Macao. There are four species of mullet, two of surmullet, and five or six kinds of eels known here; why does not Mr. Gutzlaff speak of the near as well as of the remote? Of that which he could have seen in the streets of Macao almost every day, while the productions of Shantung, and the coast of the Yangtsze keäng, may not have been seen more than once or twice? We are told, moreover, “that carp, perch, the sea bream, and a species of cod are indigenous, but herrings are almost unknown, in the Chinese waters.” While he was writing this book, Mr. G. resided in Macao; and if he had taken the trouble to go into the fish market, he would have seen two or three species of herring, and by continuing his researches a few days, found half a dozen more. We know

that about fourteen well-determined species of *Chupea* occur in the waters about Macao, and that more than as many more species of the same great family are found in this part of China; while we have never seen a cod from Chinese waters, nor a drawing which resembled a cod in Chinese authors. If, by "a species of cod," the garoupa is intended, he should have mentioned it as the rock cod, by which name it is sometimes called by foreigners; but this latter fish is as diverse from the true *Gadus* or cod, as it is from a sole or ray.

After this, the reader is taken down to the shoals of Borneo, and the coasts of Cochinchina, to follow the fishermen from Hainan; and anon he must fly off to Mantchouria to see the pearl oyster. Why does not the author tell us something of the fish under his nose, and describe at least one of the 250 species found in the markets of Canton and Macao? Why does he not speak of the delicate garoupa and pomfret; the Polynemus (or salmon as it is here called); the singular white porpoises found in Lintin bay; the curious, semi-transparent, white rice fish; the sole; the 30 sorts of mackerel; the remarkable *Ophiocephalus* or "living fish" of the Chinese; the sharks; and the rays? Why does he not? Plainly because he knows nothing about them, and never took the trouble to examine them, but gathers a few random remarks from different sources, most of which, we are certain, it would be nearly impossible for him either to verify or disprove, and thus fills up his book with the semblance of research. It is the same with what follows. "It is very remarkable that there are few species of venomous serpents, scorpions, and centipedes." But, in our humble opinion, it would be still more remarkable to know how the author arrived at this conclusion; for if this part of the country can be taken as an index of the rest, venomous serpents are not at all uncommon in China; centipedes frequently occur, but scorpions rarely.

We will now leave the zoölogy, and proceed on to the botany. "We cannot," says the writer, and the remark is quite indisputable, "give a botanical description of all the plants which are found in this empire. Very many are still entirely unknown to the European botanist; others are scarcely worth notice in a general description of the country." And a little way on: "In the deserts of the dependencies, we must not expect many botanical specimens; but the mountains of Tibet, and the plains of Mantchouria furnish varieties with which the European botanist is entirely unacquainted." And so, we doubt not, would also the centre of New Holland, the gardens of Timbuctoo, and the marshes of Patagonia, furnish many unknown

plants. He is certainly one of the most erratic writers we ever read, and what is odd, he expatiates so frequently upon the productions of countries and places he has never visited. The mountains of Tibet, the remote dependencies, plains of Mantchouria, high latitudes of Tartary, transgangetic regions, well cultivated districts, and a hundred other like places, (which for all authentic information are really nowhere,) are to Mr. Gutzlaff what the island of Serendib was to Sinbad the sailor, a place where was found whatever was curious and rare.

But we pass on. Speaking of the tallow tree, he says,

“The fruit grows in bunches; in form it resembles the berries called priest-cap (?); it is enclosed in a brown capsula, which encloses three kernels, every one of which is coated with tallow, and the kernel contains a great quantity of oil, which is pressed out and used for the lamp. It grows in Keängse, Keänguan, and Chëkeäng, and is one of the most useful trees which the country produces; but the tallow it yields melts very easily, and does not burn so clear as our own. The candles made of it are generally dyed red, or gilded and painted with flowers, so as to serve the double purpose of ornament and usefulness.” page 43.

The tallow tree also grows in Macao, and that within a short mile of Mr. G.'s house. If he will, some leisure day, turn to page 439 of vol. V. of the Repository, he will find a fuller description of the tallow tree than we have space here to give. But we suspect that the candles made from it are not *dyed* red, as he asserts: if so, he ought to have mentioned this new dye, and detailed the manipulations of so curious a process as *dyeing a tallow candle*. That the camphor tree of Borneo is a different tree from that which produces the camphor of China, is well known to others, if not to the author; and Chinese paper is mostly made of full grown bamboo stalks and not of the young stunts, nor of the *koo shoo* or paper tree, as he would lead us to suppose. On the 148th page of volume II., he gives a more accurate account of this manufacture, but by the time he had proceeded thus far, he partly forgot what he before said in this place, and the two accounts do not tally in all particulars. The tea plant justly engages a large share of his attention; twenty pages in both volumes are filled with an account of it, in which he has probably given us all the knowledge he possesses upon the subject. He, however begins the description with a singular mistake; “Our botanists seem hitherto only to have discovered two species, and class the shrub amongst the dicotyledons; but the plant has *never* been thoroughly examined”—(we will add,)—by the writer: for from this use of the

word dicotyledons, we might infer that as he is no botanist, (and he says he is not,) he used the word without knowing what it meant. Some parts of the information contained in the twenty pages will be new to most of his readers, although it is mixed with the usual proportion of error, but we think he ought to have confined himself more closely to describing the plant as it exists in China, and not occupied so many paragraphs with the statistics of its consumption in other countries.

"The cassia tree," (*lignea cassia*) he tells us, "grows in Yunnan; . . . . the cassia pods are said to be produced by the *cassia fistula*; but it is pretty certain that the *lignea cassia* also bears this fruit." This extract very appropriately succeeds the sentence just preceding it on the 47th page, where the author tells his readers that he is no botanist; for he supposes the words *lignea cassia* (which he perhaps met with in some book he extracted from,) to be the scientific name of the cassia tree, and is desirous to reconcile the confusion he is in with the extracts, by guessing that the *lignea cassia* bears the same fruit as the *Cassia fistula*. We did not know that any one, be he a botanist or not, ever called the pod of a tree its fruit; a little more research would have disclosed the fact, that both these wise-looking words are pharmaceutical names for cassia bark and cassia pods; and that the former is the product of the *Laurus cassia*, and as appears from late investigations, is produced from several other species of *Laurus* also; while the latter only is the pulpy pod of the *Cathartocarpus fistula* or the *Cassia fistula* of Linnæus. Speaking of Chinese fruits, he says, "they have received undue praise;" and then adds, "in some districts one can walk for miles without seeing a single fruit tree, and an orchard is quite out of the question," though just before, he admitted there were a few orchards. These "some districts" are probably in the "deserts of the dependencies," where some other curious things occur; for, from the piles of oranges, plantains, plums, pears, loquats, leches, and other fruits, which one sees at every corner of the streets in this city, we should infer that fruit trees were no rarities in China, though we cannot certainly say how many trees constitute an orchard, and therefore it may be true that none are found.

Sentence succeeds sentence, and one paragraph follows another, for the most part written in this same vague, rambling, helter-skelter style, amusing the reader with the appearance of knowledge, but leaving him dissatisfied with the book, and weary of the subject. What might be true if a little differently expressed, is thrown into

such a shape as to convey a wrong impression, and sometimes a positive untruth. "The paper tree . . . . . of which *the* Chinese paper is made," is an instance at hand. If it had read, "the paper tree, from which paper is made in China" in small quantities, the reader would not have been misled. "The Chinese are really ingenious in the cultivation of *all* sorts of grain; in *no* branch of industry do they excel so much, nor is *any* occupation so honorable." The ingenuity of a Chinese husbandman is chiefly seen in the various modes he adopts for irrigating his lands, but an observer does not see much ingenuity exhibited in the general routine of agriculture in China; ancient and well understood rules are implicitly observed, the consequences of some of which are good, of others bad; but compared with an English farmer, the Chinese cultivator of "*all* sorts of grain" is slovenly, unscientific, and not at all ingenious. Besides, how can a husbandman be said to excel a weaver, a carpenter, or a workman in any other branch of industry? Or what is it that makes the cultivation of *grain* particularly so much more honorable than of pulse or mulberry, or other branches of agriculture? We are half disposed too to find fault with the array of untranslated Chinese terms, which to an English reader convey not the slightest information, such as le-te-kwan, koo-ko, nan-muh, le-tun-yew, le-tun-shoo, lan-hwa, mow-le-hwa, kwei-hwa, kwan-lan, le-cha-yew, le-pih-lā-shoo, &c., for if the author knew the plants intended, he could surely, have given some account of their affinities, and not left his poor reader, ignorant as he is of the Chinese language, in a still deeper maze of doubt and ignorance.

A few miscellaneous extracts will conclude the remarks on the vegetable kingdom. "The *leën hwa* or water lily is not only esteemed as a flower, but the fruit furnishes an excellent meal, similar to our gruel, which is in great request." This excellent meal is a coarse kind of arrowroot made from the dried root, but wherein consists the similarity to "our gruel," we are ignorant. "Among the medical roots peculiar to China, the ginseng deserves, in the estimation of natives, the first rank, whilst among us it has not even obtained a place in the pharmacopæia;" which is an error of our author's, as ginseng is a common tonic in American practice. "It is rather extraordinary that most of the trees [in China] are of a diminutive size, and generally devoid of that rich foliage, which gives to the islands of the Indian archipelago so attractive an appearance." "*Every* ridge of mountains, which can possibly produce the fir, is planted with it; but with the exception of the mountainous districts,

there are few forests in the country; for *every* inch of ground is arable soil." "The simples the Chinese use in medicine are perhaps fifty times the number that have been admitted into our European pharmacopœia; they extend their researches only to useful plants, and seldom condescend to examine *weeds*." How Mr. Gutzlaff attained to such an intimate knowledge of the height of the trees, the productions of *every* ridge of mountains, the extent of arable land,—to say nothing of the extensive swamps in Keängsoo,—and the number of simples used by Chinese doctors, is far more extraordinary than all the other wonderful things he describes.

The section on the mineral kingdom is rather the best of the three, because it is the shortest; and we shall soon be done with it. The author first transports his reader to "the mountainous districts of Kweichow and Yunnan," which he tells us are very rich in mineral treasures; and immediately adds, that as "mining is not encouraged, the greatest treasures are still hidden in the bowels of the earth." "There are gold mines, but no European can point out the place where they are to be found." Truly, our author is endowed with as much knowledge as the ring of King Solomon, which according to Arabian story could disclose mines of rubies and diamonds, for he not only knows what is in the mountainous districts of Yunnan and Kweichow, places he has never visited, but he is also aware of what is there hid beneath the surface. He then carries us all over the empire with the rapidity and superficialness of a will-o'-the-wisp, but is careful *not to tell* of the mineral productions found in the vicinity or in the shops of Canton, where one could examine his wonders. He winds up this section, and closes the chapter on natural productions, in his own genuine style, thus: "various other stones, which it is difficult to classify, with excellent granite and quartz, make up the list of the mineral productions."!!

Perhaps some of our readers, who have perused *China Opened*, will say that we have not taken the best chapter in it for examination; and do not give it a fair chance. It may be so, but no other could be so easily verified; and if we see marks of haste and inaccuracy in those parts we are able to test, the result will serve as an index of the credibility of other parts. It is not necessary to drink a whole cask of wine to know its flavor. A synopsis of the remaining chapters is, however, all we can spend time for at present; but if any one of our readers is disposed critically to examine them, we think he will find that all parts of the book bear indubitable marks of the same carelessness and ignorance. Volume first, from page 55 to 280 is



occupied with the topography of China and its dependencies; for which, (except perhaps some of the maritime parts,) in the present situation of foreigners, he must depend entirely upon authorities, and these often present many discrepancies, to reconcile which and give a well digested account of so large an empire, requires more acumen and knowledge than has fallen to the lot of the compiler of these volumes. His lists of authorities on this subject are placed in the last paragraph of the chapters, and among them "Morrison's Possessions of the Reigning Dynasty" is quoted three times; we were wondering for some time what book this could be, when it occurred that he referred to two articles, by that name, in the first vol of the Repository, and this on comparison proved to be the case: it is however, a somewhat singular mode of quotation, especially when the author's name is not attached to the articles in question.

Eighty-three pages are occupied with a sketch of Chinese history, chiefly an abridgment from his former work, succeeded by one hundred upon the language and literature, neither of which require any particular remark; some parts are not so bad as others, some are good, and others are hardly worth printing with such fine materials. Many of the statements, regarding the language, must be received with caution, and all of the surmises, with doubt. To say (page 383 vol. I.), "that one might write a perfectly intelligible treatise in which only the sound E was employed," is affirming more than there are sufficient grounds for believing: as are also the assertions, that "it would be next to impossible to preach sermons [in Chinese] of any length;" or, "that orators in a Chinese parliament would be obliged to print their speeches before delivering them;" or, "that it would be almost impracticable to carry on *intellectual* discourse to any length." Notwithstanding Mr. Gutzlaff's assurance concerning the prevalence of infanticide, and the countenance his authority gives to the common ideas among foreigners of its extent among the Chinese, we doubt very much whether he does not belie the character of the people, and make them to be worse than they are. we have no space here to give the grounds of our belief, nor does the subject admit of statistical demonstration. Infanticide no doubt exists to an extent that must shock every feeling mind, but from the loose way in which authors have stated their observations and opinions, leaving much room for the reader's imagination to fill up the picture, ideas have become current which place Chinese parents in a light, much worse we think than sober investigation would warrant. On this subject, which it is well known has been misrepresented and without much doubt exag-

gerated, Mr Gutzlaff should have given facts, and the unequivocal testimony of an eye-witness.

Two fifths of the second volume are occupied with the arts and the religions of the Chinese; and as a whole, with all their imperfections, these two chapters are not destitute of information; a little wheat among some chaff, which as elsewhere are with difficulty separated. The remainder of the volume is filled with an account of the government, and is perhaps much the best part of the whole work; the list of provinces and their subdivisions, the table of latitudes and longitudes, and the account of the six tribunals, are valuable for reference. But as two or three articles upon these subjects are already in our fourth volume, from whence we think Mr. Gutzlaff derived much that makes his compilation valuable, we need not stop to examine them.

Before dismissing these volumes, we wish to make a few remarks upon them as a whole. Among that class of persons who have had their attention attracted towards China a good deal, by the eclat attending the author, they will probably get many readers, and many of the assertions in them will go far to influence the minds of such persons. Those who possess but few facilities for extending their knowledge of China from other sources, but are desirous to learn a little of what is everywhere talked about, are here presented with a cheap compendium of all that is known, and they too will regard the work as oracular. It comes, moreover, recommended by Dr. Reed, a man not unknown to the English public, and his recommendatory advertisement will no doubt procure it many purchasers. But we have half a mind to file a bill against this preface. If Dr. Reed is merely a wellwisher of the author, he should content himself with saying how he came by the manuscript, and why it was put into his hands, and there stop. If he wished to recommend it to the British public, as a valuable addition to our previous knowledge of the Chinese empire, he ought to be very well acquainted with the subject in hand, able to form an unbiased, intelligent, opinion of the performance, or else he may commit himself by crying up spurious wares, and thus jeopard his own reputation. In our humble opinion, it does little credit to his taste or knowledge to compare the *salmagundi* before us with the careful and systematic work of Davis. Dr. Reed appears to think that the omissions he was advised to make in the copy have improved the book, and from what is left, we are inclined to coincide in his opinion; we think, however, that his revisions were strictly speaking mere reductions, since he must have

confined himself to leaving out portions, without correcting what was wrong in the remainder. In either view, we think he has done amiss. If he knows nothing about China personally, he ought not to have undertaken the revision of a work of this nature; if he does, he ought to have been more thorough in his pruning, and made it a perspicuous, correct, and methodical treatise.

We are disposed too to find fault with the unblushing plagiarisms in many parts of the book, and to cavil at the manner of quoting authorities, when it is done. On the 159th page of the second volume, are some remarks upon education, which we have no doubt were drawn from the May number of our fourth volume; on the 161st page of the same volume is another instance; and we have marked several other paragraphs that appear to be taken from the same work. We do not object to an author's using all the helps he can procure in making his book, for it is generally expected; but for the free use here made of the series of papers in the fourth volume of the Repository, by R. I., entitled, "Notices of Modern China," common politeness requires a more explicit acknowledgment than that on the 335th page. Even when Mr. Gutzlaff does acknowledge the sources from whence his paragraphs are drawn, it is done in some instances in such a way as leads his readers to suppose the books named are rather collateral works upon the same subjects, than, as is the case, the sources from whence he obtained much of his *materièl*. For instance; "See Du Halde, 11 vols.; Morrison's Possessions of the Reigning Dynasty; Tinkowski's Travels of the Russian Mission. The latter researches of the members of this mission will doubtless have greatly added to our information about these countries." Indeed, from what Dr. Reed says in his advertisement, he plainly appeared to think that the materials for the work committed to his care were mostly drawn from Chinese sources, and the author's own private notes. Much, if not all, of the forefront of this charge against him, of appropriating the labors of his predecessors, would have been avoided by a short preface from his own pen, stating such of the circumstances attending the compilation of his work, as his readers would naturally wish to know, and which they usually expect. That such a preface was not written, is, we suppose, attributable wholly to the same haste that is so evident in every other part of the work.

The vagueness which marks so many of the sentences as to form a distinctive feature of the work, the confusion of arrangement which characterises their collocation, setting at defiance all rules of perspicuity, and the abundant use of expletives, superlatives, and unmean-

ing epithets, all combine to confuse the sense, and hinder the reader from obtaining a definite apprehension of the subject. General expressions, very frequently occur, which in their present form are not quite true, but would have been so by a slight modification; and that these slight changes were not made before the manuscript was sent off, we also attribute to the author's haste. We have already noticed one or two instances. On page 399, vol. I., he says, "The Chinese are proud of being in possession of a language which speaks far more distinctly to the eye than to the ear." Did any one ever hear or conceive of a *written* language that could speak to the ear? Is such a thing possible as to put sound on paper? Certainly not; and no man would ever think of saying so in plain terms. But by such expressions as the one here quoted, persons unacquainted with the Chinese language, suppose there is some inherent difference between it and other languages, by which, when written, it conveys its meaning directly to the mind of the reader by the form of the characters.

The complete exhibition of the fallacy contained in this and a few other sentences upon the language would require much more time and space than we can at present afford, but we much doubt if Mr. Gutzlaff's remarks will set the subject in a true light, or help to unravel the "puzzle" (as Mr. Du Pouceau calls it,) of its construction. The Chinese must be great simpletons if this sentence is true: "*everything* beyond the range of sight is difficult to be described by them, and even when represented, it can be scarcely understood." Such sweeping assertions as this in one author, must necessarily be partially or wholly contradicted in another, who views the matter differently; and between the two, it is impossible for uninformed persons to discriminate, and gradually erroneous notions come to be held almost as accepted truths.

With this brief notice we dismiss *China Opened*. We have tried to find portions of it worthy of commendation, but can only say that some parts are not so bad as others. There is a good deal of authentic information between the lids of the volumes, but it is so mixed up with crude theories, careless expressions, and partial mis-statements, that it requires more than all the knowledge of the learned author himself "to separate the gems from the stones." It is not such a book as Mr. Gutzlaff ought to make, or such an one as the public had reason to expect from a person possessing his advantages.

W.

ART. III. *Notices of the geological formation of the western part of Java.* Extract translated from M. Hörner's Report.

"The hills appear partly of volcanic, and partly of sedimentary formation. Naturalists, who have previously made inquiries, state the greatest part of the hills of Java to be of volcanic formation, and that the working of the subterranean power is yet observable. In the western portion of the island visited by me, the mountain masses do not appear to be the formation of any working volcanic power of extinct volcanoes, if the Karang and Pula sari are taken as separate groups of hills.

The volcanic rocks form here the nucleus of the hills. They are what geologists call trachyte, dolerite, and basalt, but the composition varies extremely, so as to puzzle even a practiced geologist. These rocks belong to a relatively newer period, and have been melted and thrown up by subterranean heat. The trachyte is of a more or less fine granular mixture of different substances of a dark gray, dark green, and even dark blue, color, in which glassy felspar abounds in crystals, sometimes 4 or 5 lines in length. This last mineral is a distinguishing mark of trachyte. The masses, with augite or hornblend, also quartz in small crystals, have the appearance of European dolerite. On the gunong Angsana, north of Jasinga, I found olivine, a distinguishing mineral of basalt. The glassy felspar, which is never found in European basalt, is here abundant.

In the beds of most of the rivers, I found rolled pieces of chalcedony, white amethyst, jasper, and agate, also the appearance of amygdaloidal structure near these places. In the gunong Munara, near Rumping, I found a gray trachyte, with many small crystals of glassy felspar, and dark hornblend. To my surprise, I found about a mile north from the foot of gunong Kendang, near the small rivers Kopit and Liman, hornstone and red porphyry, much older than dolerite, trachyte, or basalt.

I also unexpectedly found, in the rivers on the southwest, the Tji Madhur and Tji Ara, boulders of genuine granite of different varieties: the greatest part a fine grained, with new white felspar (qu. albite?), abundance of white quartz, and a small quantity of mica; also much rose-colored felspar, with quartz, and dark green hornblend, with portions of the same having iron pyrites. These boulders are too large and abundant, to admit of the idea that they

were brought thither by the sea; I should rather suppose that they were washed down from adjoining vallies of granite. This granite much resembles the granite of Banca. (Qu. does it also contain tin ore?) The volcanic rocks are covered by a very thick formation of sedimentary rocks.

Throughout my tour, I found generally a formation which owes its origin to a fine, light volcanic ash; also of volcanic conglomerates, and volcanic tufa. To the west of Jasinga, I found this formation, and followed it up to Ceram and Tangerang, near Batavia.

When at Pandoglan, masses of lava were visible, which in old times came down in streams from the Karang: the tufa then disappears, until you approach Baros. The lava from the Karang is all porous; a sign of its having flowed in open air. The tufa is found under water, a sign that these great volcanic eruptions took place at a period, when this part of the island had assumed its present form and shape. The depth of this formation is sometimes 500 feet, and it generally consists of fine or coarse conglomerate, of white colored, yellow, or gray earthy stuff, mingled with small grains of quartz, and magnetic iron ore: which latter is observable on the highways, glittering in the shape of black iron sand, washed out by the rains. In this formation, I found coal at Bodjo Manic, five miles southeast of Sebak.

From the stratification and composition of the rocks, it seems to me, that this portion of volcanic ash and pumice was formed under water. The thick structure of the volcanic rocks already mentioned, indicates their having cooled under great pressure. For submarine volcanoes throw up quantities of ashes, which spread over a vast extent of country, and form in time mountains of volcanic tufa. That the sea once covered this part of the island, appears from the fossil remains of shells. I found, half a mile south of Jasinga, specimens of the genera *Cyprea*, *Venus*, and *Donax*.

Let us now speak of the lime hills, which are found in different parts of the island. They are of irregular heights, full of clefts, in which the swallows build their famous edible nests. Their color is white or yellow, and sometimes rose color. They are all over covered with traces of marine remains and zoöphytes, to which coral insects they probably owe their origin.

I found a range of sandstone rocks, on the southwest, in the volcanic tufa formation, and on the same coast, there are evident traces of the elevation of hills, not being of old date, proved by the fresh rocks found upon them

ART. IV. *Sketch of Spanish Colonial History in Eastern Asia; government of Vargas, Cruzalaegui, Cruzat, Zabalburù, Bustamente, marquis of Torre-Campo, &c. (Continued from Vol. VII., page 541.)*

THE year after De Leon's death (1678), the very illustrious don Juan de Vargas Hurtado arrived, and assumed the reins of the colonial government. Like many of his predecessors, his first public acts were well-directed and popular. The restoration of ruined edifices, the protection and extension of commerce, &c., afforded him ample and useful occupation. But ere long, the gains of this commerce began to work on the public spirit of the governor, and as this was the very point whereon the citizens were most sensitive, they soon came to ill terms with each other.

We turn aside from the detail of these growing disaffections, to notice a fact or a statement, connected with the conquest of Mindoro. This populous island had been represented to the 'council of the Indies,' as capable of being made a valuable appendage to the colony. By their order, a new effort was now made, and with considerable success, to reduce and civilize it. Its interior was represented by the invading party, as still retaining the aboriginal, negro-population; while on the coasts, men were found of complexions so light, as to induce the supposition, that they were of Chinese or Japanese descent. The statement, we wished to notice is, that one of the Mindoro tribes actually had tails. 'This fact,' says our Augustine authority, 'is so well attested, that I cannot doubt it; though I suppose it to have been an individual singularity, propagated through a race.' This 'singularity,' valuable as it might have been to lord Monbodo, seems to have been a very uncomfortable thing to the parties chiefly concerned. It interfered sadly with their dignity and comfort, when sitting down. Under the care of the Recollect fathers, who were transferred hither by a Dominican intrigue from the province of Zambales, these poor natives were gradually led to put off the works of darkness, and hence, perhaps, it is, that no more is said in the sequel of their tails.

We are again upon a period, when the colonial annals present an unrelieved mass of dissensions; the secular and ecclesiastical authorities, conflicting with each other, and their subalterns contending among themselves. The bold reforms of the archbishop Pardo were

the beginning of these troubles, which seem (at least to the reader of the original record,) never to have an end. Information had been laid before him, that the Jesuit order in the colony, were engaged in commerce, contrary to papal decree. One hundred and fifty bales of goods, on board the *Santa Rosa*, were pointed out to him as the property of the fathers of the Company, and sequestered by command of the archbishop. The Jesuits, supported by the Audiencia, resisted the ecclesiastical sentence, and for once, the archiepiscopal innovator was obliged to yield. Other occasions of strife did not fail to follow, and at length the prelate's bearing became so irritating to the civil functionaries, that they unanimously agreed to send him into exile. In pursuance of this resolution, the archbishop was arrested in his palace, in March, 1683, and transported to Lingayen. This deportation of the head of the church seeming, to certain of the Dominican clergy, unjust, and they abstaining from any intercourse with its authors, the dominant party turned its resentment upon them also, and sent them after the archbishop. These rash proceedings of Vargas and his associates, were cut short in April, 1684, by the arrival of a new governor, the admiral don Gabriel de Cruzalæguy y Arriola. The archbishop was forthwith recalled, and reëntered his cathedral triumphant. Unhappily, he did not get the victory over his own vindictive feelings, but proceeded without delay to bring his late persecutors to public confession and penance. Most of them submitted, but Vargas found such a load of humiliation laid upon him, that he rebelled, and claimed exemption, under the immunities of his military order. A legal process of extraordinary obstinacy ensued, running through four whole years, and filling twenty large volumes. This period of incessant litigation was further marked by a succession of public disasters. The vessels put back in distress; the harvests failed; and epidemic diseases prevailed extensively.

At length in 1687, a judge arrived from Mexico, commissioned to decide on the matter of Vargas and his associates. These last, however, had already disappeared from the scene, and Vargas went alone into exile. The clerical opponents of the archbishop now felt his severity, and then, the venerable prelate, having tasted the sweets of revenge to the full, departed this life aged 78, in December, 1689.

His superior in the civil administration, the timid and feud-disliking admiral, had deceased some months before; and in the following year, Vargas died also. From the courts, where they had appeared a little while before, as accusers and judges of each other, they were thus transferred in quick succession to the tribunal of infinite justice.



The colonial administration had hardly been a year in the hands of Don Alonso de Avila-fuertes, when he was superseded (1690), by don Fausto Cruzat y Gongora. This new governor was a zealous economist, and proceeded, soon after his arrival, to the recovery of large sums due the colonial chest, by various residents. In carrying out his plans of retrenchment, he fell somewhat into the extremes of more modern economists. The pay of the military, for instance, was reduced so low, that at a later day, when one of his successors examined into these matters, it was found that the soldiers often stood sentry — shirtless and barefoot,— a sort of uniform, for his Catholic majesty's service, which was considered rather too much *à la Gongora*.

It was, however, a time when retrenchment became the colony. The last galleon owned in the islands, had just been lost on one of the Marianas. Great exertions were made to build one of extraordinary size, and in nine months she was ready for the voyage to Mexico. A cargo of immense value was laden on the ill-fated vessel, but she had scarcely left the port, when a furious gale drove her on the island of Luban, where she was totally lost, and 400 of the crew perished. A third galleon followed (in 1693), and was never after heard of.

We must here turn back a few years, to notice for a moment the progress of depopulation in the Marianas. As early as 1684, those islands had again become the scene of new excesses. The Spanish force at Guam, was at that time weakened by the absence of a detachment on a campaign of civil and spiritual reduction, among the northern islands. The natives of Guam seized the occasion to revolt, and a large number of the Spanish residents fell under the rude arms of the insurgents, before their comrades returned, to save them from total annihilation. Quiet was again restored, but the colony came very near being the victim of a plot formed by a crew of runaway convicts from Mexico, in 1690. This danger escaped, new troubles arose with the aborigines; for the remedy of which, it was determined to concentrate the native population on the chief island. This policy was henceforth pursued, and the result was, as has been already remarked, that island after island was dispeopled, and the Mariana tribe was reduced to about 4000, collected on Guam and Rota.

The Philippine missions had received a strong reinforcement, of sixty Augustine and thirty-eight Dominican friars, in 1690, but the archiepiscopal chair remained vacant seven years longer. In September, 1697, don Diego Camacho arrived, and assumed the mitre—

a man of kindred spirit with his predecessor Pardo. He early involved himself in difficulties with his clergy, by requiring them to submit to visitations, reëxaminations, &c. The united opposition of the regular clergy rendered his efforts, for the time, ineffectual. So decided were they on this point, that when they had occasion, soon after, to resort to the ecclesiastical tribunals, for protection against a governmental inquiry into the titles by which they held their lands, and the archbishop pledged his aid on condition of their submission to visit; they one and all rejected his assistance. It is not our province to decide on the point at issue between them. It is worth noticing, however, as a matter of fact, that the Catholic missions in China, had been already disturbed again and again by like difficulties. In 1684, and 1688, for instance, almost all the missions there had been thrown into confusion, by decrees requiring the regular clergy to take oaths of subjection to the papal vicars. And now, in the Philippines, when Camacho pressed his demands to extremities, declaring the churches of the recusant clergy vacant, the immediate result was, that the suburban parishes, and a hundred other *pueblos*, were deprived of their parochial teachers. These consequences compelled the archbishop to pause, and after a time, to suffer the deprived clergy to return to their altars. The contest was not, however, ended, though we spare the reader the long details, which fill almost the whole of the 8th volume of our authority. At length, when these dissensions had gone on even to public encounters in the streets, the interference of the governor became more decided, and the whole subject was referred to the decision of his most Catholic majesty. The royal reply of May, 1700, was an unqualified approval of the course of the archbishop, and the *audiencia* was required to aid him, in enforcing the submission of the regular clergy.

The difficult post of mediator between these contending parties, continued to be held by governor Cruzat, until September, 1700. Don Domingo Zabalburù y Echeverri, who had been named governor six years before, then arrived, and the worthy economist and peacemaker had the double pleasure of resigning his mediatorship, and of handing over a well-filled treasury.

Several years of quiet now intervened, and from such scanty notices as our authority bestows, it may be inferred, that the Philippine commerce was again flourishing. The war between Spain and England does not appear to have affected it much, the only notice taken of it, being the escape of the galleon of 1704, after a sharp contest with an English frigate.

The administration of Zabalburù was now drawing to a natural and quiet close, when unhappily, the celebrated father De Tournon, on his way to China as visitor-general of the papal missions, touched at Manila. He immediately showed his extreme punctiliousness, and the governor, aware probably of the danger of quarreling with churchmen, yielded to his pretensions, although he showed no authority or *exequatur* from the council of the Indies. Not content with this minor triumph, De Tournon proceeded to assume ecclesiastical authority in the Philippines, and even made some alteration in the terms of one of the royal charities.

When the account of these submissions, reluctant as they were, went home to Spain, it drew out a severe censure on the governor and his *oidors*. Zabalburù was deprived of his office, and ordered back to Mexico. The members of the Audiencia were fined and otherwise punished. The archbishop too was made to suffer by a removal to the see of Guadalaxara, and prohibited further correspondence with Manila. It was ordered anew, that no person assuming ecclesiastical authority, be received as such in the colonies, unless he exhibited the royal rescript, and this being refused, his reception was to be confined to a mere discharge of the claims of humanity.

These severe visitations seem to have been provoked by the fact, that De Tournon was a meddling foreigner, and the Spanish court had no mind to brook interference from such a quarter. This jealousy of foreign intervention was clearly shown, in the restoration of the college, with whose rules De Tournon had meddled, to its old foundation, and the strict limitation of its privileges in future to Spanish students.\*

After the departure of De Tournon, we are told, "that the commonwealth, afflicted by many and long-continued trials, betook itself to prayer and penitence. After many and general confessions, a real reformation of manners was evident. Under these pious dispositions, Divine Providence consoled the republic with the safe arrival of the galleon, with a great quantity of silver; and further in 1707, with the appearance of a new archbishop; Fr. F. de la Cuesta.†"

\* The course of De Tournon, after leaving Manila, belongs to another history, it is sufficient to add, that he carried over to China the same lofty demands, and that the regular clergy there soon became united in opposing him. He next ran foul of the Board of Rites and the emperor Kanghe, by whose decree, he was compelled to retire to Macao, an exile. Roughly treated even by the Portuguese government, he lived on in his place of banishment under many humiliations, and, at length died; an example of the truth, that whosoever exalteth himself, shall be abased.

† Under date of 1706, our authority mentions, in noticing the death of the Jesuit father P. I. Davila, that he was the introducer of the cocoa plant into the

It became the duty of this prelate to put in force the right of visitation, so fully sanctioned by the late appeal to Madrid, but which still lay unexecuted. But De la Cuesta, finding that the opposition of the regular clergy continued unabated, consented to a second reference of the question to court, where, on further deliberation, the archiepiscopal powers received considerable limitations.

The waters of the Pacific Ocean had not yet been sufficiently examined, except in the direct track of the annual galleons, to make it evident, that other valuable islands were not still in reservation. Magellan had seen land south of the Marianas; other later navigators had done the same; and in 1696, two boats with 29 natives on board had been driven on the coast of Samar. The report of these discoveries in reserve reached Europe, and pope Clement XI. was earnest in his recommendations of farther exploring voyages. Philip Vth yielded to these instances, and enjoined the governors of Mexico and the Philippines to proceed in the matter, in connexion with the fathers of the Company. These orders reached Manila just before Zabalburù's recall, and a vessel was immediately dispatched to do the work, but returned unsuccessful. A second arrival of shipwrecked Carolinians now took place, and a second ship was sent out to find the group from which they came, but with no better success than the first expedition.

In the course of the same year (1709), don Martin de Orsua y Arismendi, conde de Lizarraga arrived, with the appointment of governor, and by his order, a third vessel was dispatched in the following September. This ship made the Palaos group in 5 to 7 degrees of south latitude, and held some friendly communications with the natives; but being afterward driven from her position by gales, returned to Manila, leaving two padres on the islands. The report of an actual discovery of a new group led to the preparation of a stronger expedition, but the unfortunate party perished, almost to a man, by shipwreck, in the straits of St. Bernardino. Again, the annual ship to the Marianas was directed to revisit the Palaos, and did actually touch at them in 1712, but the 18 islands sighted on this voyage were of inconsiderable importance. The existence of any extensive land in that quarter was now discredited, since so many costly expeditions had failed to find it. The search was given over, and the only intelligence ever had of the lost padres, was a vague report of their falling victims to the ferocity of the Palaos.

Philippines. It still flourishes in the colony, yielding a berry inferior only to that of Soconuzco.

The conde de Lizarrága was a man of most amiable character, and his administration was throughout, unusually popular. A condescending deportment gained him the affections of his countrymen, while his patronage of native industry, especially in checking an excessive immigration from China, endeared him to the people. He died, deeply regretted, in 1715, leaving the administration in the hands of the Audiencia, headed at that time by don Joseph Torralba. This very unfortunate, or very mischievous, person soon contrived to embroil himself in several suits with strong antagonists. An order came, to reinstate one of the displaced *oidors* of Zabalburù's time, but Torralba refused to fulfill it, and thus exposed himself to an appeal to the council of the Indies. A feud arose between the clergy of Arragonese, and those of Castilian, extraction, and Torralba succeeded in drawing on himself the animosity of the latter party. He had also become deeply implicated in fiscal malpractices, when the arrival of don F. M. de Bustamente y Rueda, in August, 1717, again reduced him to a subordinate position.

This energetic, but ill-fated governor began his course with fiscal reforms, which were equally efficacious in replenishing the public chest, and in making him unpopular.

His attention was early drawn to the value of the island of Paragua (Palawan), as an outwork of the colony. For the protection of the mission already existing there, and for the complete reduction of the island, he built a fort at Labo near its southern extremity. This post was continued for a few years, and then abandoned by his successor. The old fortress of Zamboangan, too, was rebuilt by Bustamente's order, after 57 years of neglect, and in opposition to the wishes of his advisers. Desirous to mark his administration by further enterprises, Bustamente dispatched an envoy to Siam, in 1718, whose reception is detailed at great length by our Augustine chronicler. From this account, we may extract, for amusement's sake the question, so often asked by eastern princes, in later times, "whether the letters of the envoy were from the king of Spain, or from the governor of the colony." If we record, furthermore, that on the presentation of these letters, the Jesuit college struck its bells, and the Dutch factory saluted and showed its colors, it is not for the sake of the ceremony, but to notice the fact, that there was then such a factory and college at the Siamese capital. The fruits of this mission were, a commercial treaty, a plat of ground for a factory, the privilege of building ships in the Meinam, mutual exemption from port-charges, &c. The advantages thus gained appear to have been

ill kept, for we are told, that a Siamese junk, visiting Manila the following year, was so ill received, as to destroy the confidence reposed on their part, in the whole treaty.

Orders now came from Madrid for the apprehension and trial of Torralba. He was accordingly committed on charges of mal-administration, amounting to \$600,000 or \$700,000. His acts as governor *ad interim*, were annulled; his goods sequestrated; and he himself confined at Cavité.

A singular train of circumstances was now operating to undermine the authority, and shorten the life of Bustamente. The annual galleon (of 1716), was just being dispatched for Mexico, and along with a valuable cargo, she bore a laudatory memorial of their governor's acts, from the city and citizens of Manila. As she slowly left the bay, a suspicion crossed Bustamente's mind, that she was lingering for dispatches of an opposite tenor. He hastily ordered the captain on shore, and the angry crew threw the unwelcome messenger overboard. Suspicion now became proof; the vessel was pursued and brought back; her captain displaced; and the command given to another.

It so happened, that, at this time, the imprisonment of Torralba, and other circumstances had almost annihilated the Audiencia, thus placing the sole authority in the hands of the governor. At this moment, a conspiracy (involving the friends of the displaced captain and other chief citizens,) was reported to be in existence, and Bustamente, in an evil hour, taking counsel from Torralba, resolved on crushing the supposed conspirators. The accused individuals fled for refuge to the churches and convents, and from these asylas, the archbishop was called upon to dislodge them. The prelate questioned the validity of orders, emanating from the governor, unsupported by the Audiencia. His scruples on this head having been referred to the universities, and sustained by them, were submitted to the governor. The reference only added to Bustamente's exasperation; he demanded a full retractation; and charged the consequences of the alleged conspiracy on the prelate and his advisers. Following up his harsh resolves, the governor called the citizens to arms, pointed the guns on the walls of the city, and gave the signal for firing on the people.

The archbishop, on his side, buckling on his spiritual weapons, excommunicated Torralba, as the secret foe of the clergy; whereupon he was arrested and confined, with several of his party. Bustamente had now united both clergy and people against him, and

when his call to arms came, they assembled, but not to support him. Alarmed by the defection, the governor ordered the artillery to be fired on the gathering masses, and it was only because the aim was bad, that they escaped with slight injury. The crowds pressed on to the palace; the guards fled; and the governor was left to a single-handed encounter. Disdaining accommodation, he threw himself upon his assailants, wounding the nearest with his sabre; but the contest was short; he was cut down, and his son, a gallant young officer, rushing to his father's rescue, fell beside him. The exasperated mob wreaked their vengeance on the dying men, dragging them through the streets, and covering them with filth and ignominy. Torralba, and the other advisers of the governor were now in turn thrown into prison, and the archbishop and his fellow-sufferers set at liberty. The prelate was further hailed as the chief of the popular party, conducted to the now vacant palace, and entreated to take the administration of the government. His clerical friends, to whom he referred the question, united in pressing his acceptance. Yielding to their arguments—the danger of the colony, the broken condition of the Audiencia, his power to restore order, &c.,—he besought their prayers, and support, and assumed the office. An Audiencia *ad interim* was reconstructed; quiet restored; and the prelate, turning from these civil cares, ordained a solemn funeral for the dead—the victims of popular fury. In illustration of the “lucid pomp” of these ceremonials, our author adds, that  $7\frac{1}{2}$  quintals of wax were consumed in candles. Provision was also made for sending to Mexico, the family of the deceased, consisting of six orphan children.

It now appeared that unfavorable representations of Bustamente's acts, had long before gone to Madrid, for royal orders now came, directing, that the old Audiencia be restored, and in case of the governor's evasion of these commands, requiring the archbishop to supersede him. This almost prophetic provision arrived after its own fulfillment, so far as concerned the suspended officers; but it had all its intended weight, in quieting men's minds, and confirming the archbishop's authority. Thus supported, the prelate, by a decree of October 19th, (1719), eight days after Bustamente's death, instituted a solemn inquiry into the causes and manner of that tragedy. In the course of the trial, it was deposed by seventeen witnesses, that the vexatious proceedings of the deceased; his imprisonment of various citizens, lay and clerical; his declared designs, driving many others to the asyla of the altars; his call to arms; and lastly, his attack on the foremost of the crowd; were the causes of the fatal casualty

One or two went farther, and justified the act, as necessary to the general safety. Torralba outwent them all, charging his murdered friend with avarice, oppression, and inhumanity; and finding a divine intervention in his sudden removal. These depositions were full as to the circumstances of the day, but when the inquiry came to turn upon the leaders of the insurrectionary movement, and the authors of the bloody acts, not a single witness could testify to their identity. The investigation closed; the evidences were transmitted to the council of the Indies; and the people of Manila consoled themselves, while waiting for the consequences, with the persuasion, that they had been "the executors of divine and human justice."

When the news of this event reached Mexico, the representative of Bustamente in that country presented himself before the viceroy, and demanded the arrest of several persons, lately arrived in the galleon, as participators in the death of his kinsman. They were accordingly arrested, but it being decided, that the Mexican courts had no jurisdiction in the case, the accuser and the accused were remanded to Manila together, there to take their place in the trial before the marques de Torre-Campo, the new governor.

This nobleman had been called to the office on the receipt of the news of Bustamente's death at Madrid, in 1720. He reached his post, the following August. The archbishop gave way to the new officer, and submitted also to the royal comment on his own share in the late proceedings, conveyed in orders to exchange his chair for a see in Mexico. He survived the voyage, but expired in a little more than a month after entering his new cathedral.

Several matters of pressing importance engaged Torre-Campo's attention on his arrival, and for a time, diverted him from the discharge of his special commission, to inquire into the death of his predecessor. The piratical states on the south were extending their depredations, and the marques was not at first very successful in his efforts to check their atrocious visitations. A mass of legal processes, and other unfinished business was also on the hands of the law-officers, and before this was disposed of, a further difficulty was started. The royal order of inquiry had been based on unofficial information, and it was held, that no steps should be taken, till the receipt of further instructions. The marques entertained the doubt, and submitted the knotty point to his confessor. The Franciscan father (he should have been a Jesuit) argued it with admirable ingenuity, and finally decided, that the inquiry ought not to be pressed, until new reference was made to his majesty,



In 1724, further orders came, requiring the investigation, and again the marques repaired to his ingenious confessor. The padre found in this second rescript, "a most elegant proof," that he was quite right in his previous argument. If the first order *had* been sufficient, why this second. But this second rescript was dated *previously* to the receipt of the representation made by the marques, and hence it is evident that a *third* must be coming, and should be expected. A multitude of reasons concurred to demand delay, and the matter being submitted to two Jesuit fathers also, they on other grounds, decided against immediate investigation. The marques yielded to these able casuists, and the inquiry was suspended. It does not appear, that the question of guilt or innocence was ever decided. Years passed by; the actors in the tragic scene disappeared from the stage; and the whole transaction was suffered to sink into oblivion. Among the latest survivors, was the much-to-be-blamed, or much-to-be-pitied, Torralba. Heavily fined by the court for his doings as acting governor; transferred and re-transferred from prisons at Cavité to prisons at Manila, he lived on in wretchedness till 1736; owing his subsistence in his last years, and his burial after death, to the hand of charity.

We here arrive at the close of the second century of Spanish intercourse with Eastern Asia. The notices we have extracted are far from conveying what we most desired to exhibit, the steps by which the Spanish power was extended over the islands from the Bashees to Basilan; and still more the process, by which 3,500,000 men of Malayan origin and habits weré brought to a comparatively high point of civilization, and to a zealous attachment to the church of Rome. These successive steps, our authorities do not supply, and we cannot go beyond them. The reader must therefore imagine, that, while we have been detailing the succession of colonial rulers, the fate of expeditions, the bitter results of controversy, or the ravages of the mob or the earthquake; the work of conquest and civilization had been going on slowly but surely. The Spanish soldier and the Catholic father have been co-workers together. The latter especially, with all his imperfections as a moral and religious guide, has been rearing, the while, in his remote parish, the church and the altar; spanning the neighboring rivulet with its arch of stone; introducing articles of comfort and sale; superseding the native character by the Roman letter; training the voices of Bisayan or Tagalo children to the music of Spain and Italy: standing, as does all this, between the restive subject and his subduer, a constant mediator and pro-

lector. Making his home in remote hamlets, unknown to us even by name, he has toiled on in the cause of civilization, forgotten and alone. The detail of his labors is already lost, but the results remain. They are honorable to their author; and as we contemplate them, our only grief is, that a vicious influence went with him to deprive him of the best instrument ever wielded by human hands, for the uses of philanthropy. Had the Catholic missionary been permitted and required to carry with him the HOLY SCRIPTURES, his track would not have been marked merely by the bestowal of present and temporal benefits. His civilization would not have stopped at the mean point, at which it is now nearly stationary in the Philippines. His influence would have gathered new strength with every exercise; the impulse given to the native mind would have become a permanent, self-sustaining power; and they who imparted it would have been permitted, ere this, to rejoice over a whole people, raised from idolatrous barbarism to high refinement, and pure piety.

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ART. V. *Journal of Occurrences. Seizure of opium; indemnity for that surrendered; renewed operations in the traffic; detention of Chinese officers on board a foreign ship at Hongkong.*

THE reports of seizures of opium in the provinces continue still numerous. An officer at court has brought it to the notice of the emperor, that while all classes, from princes and high officers down to the lowest of the people, afford parties guilty of smoking or of dealing in opium, not a single individual of the police has ever been found guilty; and asks the pertinent question, whether the police are a better class of men than all others, or if the cause be the negligence of the officers who keep the police in exercise, but never trouble themselves to look after their conduct.

The claim of indemnity for the opium recently surrendered to the chief superintendent of British trade is denied by many in the Straits, and in India. A writer, under the signature of Nomen, in the *Hurkaru*, ably, and we think justly, maintains the *claim on the government*.

There are rumors—no doubt true—of renewed operations in the drug, by vessels on the coast and elsewhere. "We trust the controllers of these will not hoist any flag belonging to civilized nations." (*Canton Register*.) And, "we hope the visits of opium-clippers to the coast will soon cease altogether." (*Canton Press*.) It is melancholy to think that men will persist in such a traffic. They may evade the laws of man and escape "condign punishment;" but there is a *conscience* in man, and a *just God* in heaven.

Recently a comprador, belonging to one of the ships at Hongkong, was seized by the authorities there; in consequence of which some Chinese officers were taken by the commander of the vessel and detained. The arrival of capt. Elliot, secured their immediate liberation. Further particulars we know not.



